PRIMARY SOURCES FOR 16TH—19TH CENTURY STUDIES IN BENGAL, ORISSA AND BIHAR LIBRARIES

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SEMINAR PAPERS EDITED BY

KATHARINE SMITH DIEHL

FELLOW OF THE A. I. I. S.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INDIAN STUDIES

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VOLUME CONTENTS

FOREWORD

THE Sixteenth through Nineteenth Centuries represent the years of Colonial Rule in South Asia. This period was chosen by the American Institute of Indian Studies, Calcutta Center, as theme for a series of Bibliographical Seminars held at my request in three successive years:

1968, at Calcutta : Bengal Studies,
1969, at Bhubaneshwar : Orissa Studies,
1970, at Patna : Bihar Studies.

Each seminar is here treated as a unit. The subject matter, specific to each of these three modern Indian states, is somewhat overlapping because Calcutta in Bengal was, and has remained, the major metropolitan complex—not alone of Eastern India but of the entire sub-continent.

However the original intention to limit discussion to primary sources, it became impossible to eliminate manuscripts, temple-mosque-church records, inscriptions in stone and on copper-plate, and actual old buildings. Orissa and Bihar have never had the serious, consistently vigorous, and varied studies which Bengal has enjoyed from the times of the earliest foreign visitors. So, when speakers wander off to such things as the West knows nothing about, it simply means that much historical work is yet to be done.

Let me acknowledge gratitude to the Government of India for permitting me to pursue research in India for three years; and to the American Government for funds made available through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for my salary; to the National Science Foundation for the continued functioning of the American Institute's Calcutta Center; and to the Smithsonian Institution for underwriting most of the publication costs for this series of papers.

A.I.I.S., Calcutta,
7 September, 1970.

KATHARINE SMITH DIEHL

PRIMARY PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

For 16th—19th Century Studies

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FACULTY TRAINING FELLOW, CALCUTTA

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INDIAN STUDIES

INTRODUCTION

In June 1968, the American Institute of Indian Studies—Calcutta Center was host to senior university scholars and authors, and to librarians of several major public and private institutions in Greater Calcutta.

Saturday afternoon and evening, June 1, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji—whose honorary National Professorship includes residence at National Library—was chairman to the university community. The following Saturday, June 8 afternoon and evening, Shri Des Raj Kalia—able librarian of National Library—led the corresponding senior library community.

Our assigned subject, "The Primary Printed Sources for Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century Studies Available in Bengal Libraries", was purposely very general. Our goal was summary statements, and informal survey: not isolated subjects or isolated titles, though a great many of each were given and recorded in the papers which follow. If the reader find repetition herein, let him remember that Greater Calcutta with population approaching six million is the literary centre for all of Eastern India's peoples, more than one hundred ten million of them. When copies of the same journal are twice mentioned it is hardly

evidence of profligate riches.

More than one hundred years ago, book-loving Dr. Aloys Sprenger was saddened by information that the Topkhanah at Lucknow had been pilfered "by a late librarian [who] sold in one week eleven hundred Rupees worth of books to provide funds for the marriage of his daughter". The Preface to his *Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustany manuscripts* (Calcutta, 1854) gives other instances of book problems of that day.

Echoes and reechoes of the same sadness came from our guest professors and librarians. There were pleas for financial assistance so that additional persons might repair or rebind books, that cumulative editing and publishing might continue, that space become available, that microfilm projects begin seriously and continue rapidly. There were pleas for institutional co-operation at the government level, at the university level ; and there was honest concern voiced about the relict collections lying in private residences.

Shri Kalia challenged an occasional note of dissatisfaction with durwans, or gatekeepers. He stated very firmly that a durwan, though paid but a few rupees monthly, is doing his absolute duty when he forbids entrance of strangers to the library : better to agree that he is an honest labourer obeying his employer's orders.

India's libraries have traditionally published book catalogues of their collections, a practice now resumed by western libraries. Virtually all institutions mentioned by the speakers had, at one time or another, printed a catalogue. Though prepared in 1850, or 1890, or even 1950 it be inaccurate today, there will be indicated the tremendous breadth and depth to be expected in Bengal's book collections. Such catalogues serve as absolute guides towards recovery of volumes, or their discovery in libraries elsewhere within the State.

The American Institute of Indian Studies is interested in primary research. Our Fellows come with a background of having used very large book collections at their colleges and universities, all of these libraries containing a large quantity of duplicated material, as well as a portion of sources not to be found easily elsewhere. Such a heritage and experience is rarely

possible to a graduate or post-graduate student in Bengal today. There are many unknown duplicates of books just lying around, and there are many colleges and universities with little true research material anywhere in their libraries. The real want is expressed by numerous teaching faculty that books become available to them at the institutional library for personal research. Whether we like it or not, the lecture is the important classroom experience for Indian students; lectures change little. The majority of professors simply cannot get books to force changes into the syllabi.

Yet books do exist in India—many books. There is need for the many copies. If the National Union Catalogue and the Book Exchange, both mentioned as being within the National Librarian's programme, can become really effective, perhaps *perhaps* books which may be in duplicate at one library will be transferred to a neighbouring institution for others to enjoy.

Concerning the National Library itself, not everybody within Calcutta should expect this institution located in Alipore south of the centre of town to be his personal public library, or his serious research library. There must be comparable book collections in North and Central Calcutta and across the River Hugli in Howrah—branches of National Library, just as the Newspaper Section is actually a mid-town branch. Finding duplicate copies and using them in the branches can make such facilities possible. But the search and relocation of books dare not stop at the metropolis. Mofussil, or more rural, resources are needed exactly where they are—at the university and college centres throughout the State.

Parallel to search for copies within libraries, is necessity for controlling sale of personal or semi-public collections. About ten years ago one very famous collection was scanned for valuable volumes and these were safely put aside; the next most important were publicly sold; the balance disposed of by the pound avoirdupois. A more recent instance relates to a house-cleaner clerk who decided to discard the oldest and quite dusty journals. He stacked them outside for disposal. Only the chance visit of a well-read stranger saved priceless unique copies. Even routine daily cleaning offers its hazards: the sweeper tears off rumpled

pages from boths ends of a book in order to have the shelves "neat".

All institutions represented at the American Institute of Indian Studies Seminars have western orientation. It may well be that Indian libraries have reached the point which American libraries were passing in 1930. Rumbles were heard in both academic and library circles at that time in the USA, and they quite resembled rumbles heard in Ballygunge, Calcutta, June 1968. Men of 1968 expressed real desire for improvement. It may not be fair to liken Shri Kalia and National Library plans to Carnegie aid to public and educational libraries a half century ago, but there is certain resemblance. The Kalia comments made us hopeful. Inadvertantly nearly all voiced concern that books and journals were indeed in a state of diffused disintegration. This unanimity coupled with National Library's positive programme gives hope that the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century Primary Printed Sources in Bengal's Libraries will receive special consideration through Government of India's tax-supported efforts.

The capable planning by Shri Tarun Mitra, Administrative Officer of the American Institute of Indian Studies Calcutta Center, lies behind both the Seminars and this publication. Knowing personally many people of Greater Calcutta's academic and library community, he was able to arrange that various disciplines and types of libraries be represented. My sincere thanks are gladly given.

The American Institute of Indian Studies acknowledges its debt to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji for opening the first Seminar with a personal summary of research methods and resources fifty and more years ago in Bengal. His talk, unfortunately, is not available for reproduction.

The summary of library technological advance, given by Shri Des Raj Kalia in the course of the second Seminar, is both acknowledged and anticipated by the American Institute—as it must be likewise both acknowledged and anticipated by thinking men and women in India.

For the physical facilities of the Calcutta center, we credit a grant from the National Science Foundation (USA) to the American Institute of Indian Studies. The Calcutta Center is but one of several in India that are thus financed.

The subjects of these Calcutta discussions parallel very closely a series held several years ago, also under National Science Foundation support, at the Graduate School of Library Service, Rutgers University (New Brunswick, USA). Quite interestingly, Dr. S. R. Ranganathan, veritable Dean of Librarianship in South Asia, openend that series with a discussion of Colon Classification. While western librarians speak of Documentation and Information Retrieval and Glossaries, their eastern counterparts speak of Cataloguing and Archives and Libraries: ideas related to comparable needs. Having been among Dr. Ranganathan's hosts at Rutgers University, I am grateful to be among his fellows of the Greater Calcutta scholarly and library community, and to have been hostess to these two seminar sessions. Because of the wise leadership and broad horizon of my country's National Science Foundation it has been possible to hold conversations between people of diverse heritage, whose goals are less separate than they seem.

Calcutta
August 20, 1968

KATHARINE SMITH DIEHL

CONTENTS

1 JUNE 1968 SESSION

IMPORTANT BENGALI PERIODICALS

BENOY GHOSE

ALTHOUGH I have in view a social history of Bengal from the ancient times to our own, I have left for the present the centuries preceding the Eighteenth.

The area of my personal research is mainly confined to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Bengal. The primary printed sources that I have found very useful in my research are (i) Bengali newspapers and periodicals, (ii) English newspapers and periodicals, and (iii) the printed books, pamphlets, proceedings of societies, reports, biographies, and family histories of the period. The Bengali newspapers and periodicals are most useful because more various aspects of social life of the Bengali people are found there than in any other printed sources. I shall therefore present in today's seminar a brief review of some of the important Bengali periodicals, their availability, and their present condition. (For your information, most of the English newspapers and periodicals, issued from 1780 to 1900, are available in National Library; and a few are at the Asiatic Society, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Krishnagar Government College, and Uttarpara Public Libraries).

Bengali periodicals and newspapers are available from 1818,

the year when *Digdarshan* and *Samachar Darpan*—the first Bengali monthly and the first weekly newspaper—were published from Serampore Baptist Mission. *Digdarshan* is partly available in Radhakanta Dev's Library in Sovabazar, and in Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and Krishnagar Government College Libraries. *Samachar Darpan* is in Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Asiatic Society, Radhakanta Dev's, Carey, and National Libraries. Many copies of this paper which the late Brajendranath Banerjee found in Radhakanta Dev's Library are missing, and the paper of copies remaining is in poor condition. Fortunately for us, B. N. Banerjee published a selection of important news and information from *Samachar Darpan* in two volumes from the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad.

We have only a few copies of *Samachar Chandrika* (1822), an important weekly newspaper representing the views of the conservative section of the Bengali Hindus against Rammohun Roy and his Brahmo Samaj, in Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and National Libraries. I have found a few stray copies in individual collections. The condition of the paper is not at all good.

Very few issues of another Bengali weekly *Bangadoot* (1829), the organ of Rammohun Roy's group, are available in National and Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Libraries. A selection of news from this weekly has been appended to Banerjee's *Samachar Darpan Selections.*

Sambad Prabhakar, published once a week in 1831, thrice a week from 1836, and finally as *the first Bengali daily* from 1839, is available in National, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, and Radhakanta Dev's Libraries. By my own searching, I have been able to secure a few copies of *Prabhakar* from the private collections of some old families in Nadia District. These copies cover a most important period of the Nineteenth Century, 1856 and 1857. These copies from private collections are fairly good. Those available in National Library and Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Library are extremely bad. As far as I know these are already unfit for use by scholars. I have made a selection of relevant news and comments from *Prabhakar* and published them in the first volume of my *Samayikpatray Banglar Samajchitra* series.

A few copies of *Sambad Purnachandrodaya,* first published

monthly in 1835, as weekly in 1836, and as daily in 1844, are available in Dr. Narendranath Laha's collection, *in* National and Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Libraries. The condition of the paper is bad.

A very important, but extremely rare, paper is *Sambad Bhaskar*, weekly published in 1839. The few copies available in Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Library are absolutely unfit for use, brittle and miserably wormholed. When I was frantically searching *Bhaskar* about five years ago, I got information that there were some copies in Mayurbhanj Raj family library in Orissa, from where these were handed over to the Utkal Sahitya Samaj in Cuttack. I rushed to Cuttack, met the Secretary of the Sahitya Samaj who told me that he had never seen nor heard of any old Bengali paper either in the Sahitya Samaj's library or anywhere in Orissa. He very kindly permitted me to search the library if I wished, and I did so. There were hundreds of Oriya papers, some bilingual in Oriya and English, heaped like waste paper in a room, hardly opened even for ventilation. From there, just by accident, I could pick up two bound volumes of the Bengali *Sambad Bhaskar*, and the same of *Sambad Prabhakar* of the two most important years, 1856 and 1857. The Secretary was very much surprised to see the volumes. Almost all news and comments from *Bhaskar* which is available in libraries, including those in Cuttack, have been collected and published in the third volume of my *Samayikpatray* series.

"Young Bengal" group's paper *Jnananweshan*, covering 1830s, has not yet been traced. In 1842, Pearychand Mitra and Ramgopal Ghose, two celebrities of this group, brought out a bilingual (English and Bengali) periodical *The Bengal Spectator*, first as monthly, then as fortnightly, and later a weekly. It was published from April 1842 to November 1843. A complete set of this paper in one bound volume is available in National Library. It was in a tolerable condition when I worked on it about eight years ago. A selection of Bengali news and comments from *The Bengal Spectator* is the third volume of my *Samayikpatray* series.

Tattwabodhini Patrika, a Bengali monthly published in 1843, represents the views of the Brahmo Samaj. A selection of

writings from *Tattwabodhini,* till the end of the Nineteenth Century, has been published in the second volume of *Samayikpatray* series. This paper is an important primary printed source for studying the social history of the Bengal of Nineteenth Century. It is available in Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Chaitanya, Behala Brahmo Samaj, Uttarpara, and Konnagar Libraries, and in some private collections. The condition of the paper is usually fairly good.

Possibly the first Bengali illustrated monthly is *Bibidhartha Sangraha*, published in 1851 and edited by the eminent scholar Rajendralal Mitra. It is available in Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, National, Asiatic Society Libraries, in Rajendralal's family collection in Beliaghata, and in some private libraries. The condition of the paper is tolerable.

Somprokash, the Bengali weekly published in 1858 first from Calcutta, then from Changripota village (now renamed Subhasgram) in south 24-Parganas (about twenty miles south of Calcutta) is—in my opinion—perhaps the most useful Bengali weekly and the most important primary printed source for studying the socio-economic and political history of Bengal in the second half of the Nineteenth Century. The fourth volume of my *Samayikpatray* series contains a selection of writings from *Somprokash*. Unfortunately, in spite of my best efforts to save the extant copies of *Somprokash,* I have not been able to do anything. A large number of copies are in the village library of Subhasgram, which are almost entirely lost now—the bound volumes quickly becoming a solid lump of paper in damp and humidity. There are some copies of *Somprokash* in the Gurudas Institute of Narkeldanga, and in National Library and Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Their condition is also very bad. If the present state of things continues, I am sure a considerable part of this vitally important primary printed source will be irrecoverably lost within a very short time.

As a member of the Regional Record Survey Committee of West Bengal Government, 1958 to 1960, I tried to impress the authorities concerned with the need and urgency of collecting all rare Bengali newspapers and periodicals that are scattered in different libraries and personal collections; of placing them in

some Central Institution for the easy accessibility of research scholars; and of publishing a descriptive catalogue of their contents. I also got a resolution to that effect passed by the Committee, but it has remained a paper resolution since 1959-60. I attach greatest importance to the paper preservation and to the preparation of a descriptive catalogue of old Bengali periodicals and newspapers, and consider it of far greater importance than many research projects sponsored by Government and by other institutions. I have plenty of materials collected from these sources still in hand which I could not accommodate in my *Samayikpatray* series for want of space—enough to fill another three or four volumes. I do not know when I shall be financially able to publish them.

INSTITUT de CHANDERNAGOR

KALI CHORONE KORMOKAR

INSTITUT de Chandernagor, but recently organised, is attempting to secure copies or prints of books and records related to the activities of the French East India Company. The Institut has been named a unit in the system of the National Libraries in India, so it is with the blessings of both the Indian Government and the French Government that I leave very soon for Paris in an effort to identify and to secure materials related to the French in India.

The bibliography which follows represents materials already within the Institut.

Bulletin Official des Establissements Français de l'Inde.

These volumes are available from the middle of the 18th Century. Published from the Pondichery Government Press. They contain documents, as ministerial circulars and acts relating to budgets, appointments (including nominations and promotions), trade and commerce, titles (Legion d'Honeur), public health; general administration, including the organisation of police of the French establishments in India, *i.e.*, at Pondichery, Chandernagore, Karikal, Mahe, and Yanon.

Bulletin Officiel de la Marine.

Available from June 1849, these are Paris publications. A narrative of the maritime activities of the French in different parts of the globe is given. There is copious information concerning the maritime organisation of the French East India Company; and reports on important acts, decisions, and circulars issued from time to time by the French Ministry of Marine and Colonies.

Annuaire des Etablissements Français dans l'Inde.

Available 1865-1878, but not completely; they are Pondichery publications. The volumes give important information on early French establishments in India, seamanship, tariff rates, colonial regulations. Topographical reports, industrial enterprises, agricultural conditions, and cultural trends with reports on various feasts and festivals observed by the different communities have been elaborately dealt with.

Le Moniteur Officiel des Etablissements Français dans l'Inde.

A bi-weekly journal, published from Pondichery, and available from 1880 to 1895. Here was published important Government acts and decisions; and local colonial news also figured in the journal. Side by side with this *Le Moniteur Officiel,* the *Journal Officiel des Etablissements Français dans l'Inde*, also published from Pondichery, records mines of information on the administrative measures adopted at Pondichery and applied on the colonies.

The Dalloz Volumes.

This is a collection of rare books on general jurisprudence by the Dalloz Brothers. Published from the Bureau of General Jurisprudence, Paris, the *Volumes* are available from 1848. The *Dalloz Volumes* form a periodic collection, and contain periodic criticism of jurisprudence; legislation in matters civil, commercial, and criminal; administration; and public rights.

Bulletins des Actes Administratifs des Etablissements Français de l'Inde.

Published from Pondichery, and available from the year 1832. Here are extracts of orders and ordinances, despatches and directives issued by the Governor of Pondichery to the subordinate Governors of the French establishments in India ; concerning administration, jurisprudence, appointments, public health, education, etc. Some of the ordinances of the French Emperor relating to administration have been printed in full.

Le Conseil General de l'Inde Français.

Published from Pondichery, the volumes are not complete and are available only from the last quarter of the 19th Century. Included are verbatim reports of the deliberations of the members in the Superior Council of Pondichery.

Le Conseil Local de Pondichery.

Published from Pondichery, these journals furnish local information such as administration, trade, commerce, social conditions, education, etc.

Notes sur l'Inde Français by C. Poulain, Paris, 1894.

Poulain was a member of the *Conseil Superieur des Colonies.* In this short monograph he has mainly dealt with the administrative machinery or Pondichery and with the French establishments in India. Any scholar desiring to work on the organisational aspects of the French in India may benefit from this volume.

Le Nabab René Madac by Emile Barbé, Paris, 1894.

Emile Barbé was Ancient Councillor to the Court of Appeal of Pondichery, and this is a diplomatic history of the projects of France in Bengal and the Punjab during 1772-1808. Research is based on original and unpublished state papers, and papers preserved at the private archives of the Madac family.

Organisation des Colonics et des Pays de Protectorate by Edouard Petet, Paris, 1895.

Written at the instance of the Ministry of Colonies, this book throws information on the public works, means of communication, administration of justice, public instruction, cul-

ture, trade and commerce, etc., of the colonies and of the protectorates under the French.

Histoire de Timur-Bec, connus sous le Nom Du Grand Tamerlan ; Empereur des Mongols et Tartars by Cherefeddin Ali, Paris, 1722.

Originally written in the author's own Persian ; translated into French by Petis de la Croix, who was Professeur de Langue Arabe au College Royal, Secretaire Interprete du Roi, pour les Langues Orientales. This is a rare volume and deals with Tamerlan's exploits.

Narrative of a Journey from Calcutta to Europe by Mrs. Charles Lushington, London, 1829.

One of few travel diaries written by women of the early 18th century, this depicts experiences gathered in the course of her own journey and later published.

Etat Civil, Politique et Commercant, du Bengale ; ou, Histoire des Conquetes de l'Administration de la Compagnie Angloise dans ce Pays by William Bolts, Paris, 1775.

Only the first volume of M. Demeunier's translation (English to French) of this rare volume by a one-time Alderman or Judge of the Calcutta Mayor's Court is available. It gives important information on political and commercial aspects of Bengal, on the Nawab's attitude towards both the English and the French ; and may furnish additional information on our present knowledge of the history of Bengal.

THE GROWTH OF PUBLIC OPINION IN BENGAL (1800-1885)

A Bibliographical Survey

CHITTABRATA PALIT

A STUDY of public opinion in all its petals, social, religious, economic and political in the age of Renaissance calls for a careful scrutiny of diverse source materials. A short bibliographical survey of primary printed sources can be attempted here.

First in the list and foremost in importance are of course, the newspapers, both English and Vernacular. The National Library, Calcutta has the following relevant English newspapers: *The Calcutta Gazette* (weekly: 1787-1953), *The Calcutta Courier* (daily: 1832, 1833, 1835, 1838, 1839, incomplete). *The Englishman* (daily: 1833 1934), *The Friend of India* (weekly: 1838-1922), *Bengal Hurkaru* (daily: 1824-1883), *The India Gazette* (daily: 1822-1831, named as *The Gazette of India*, 1831-1833, incomplete), *The Bengal Herald* (weekly: 1829, 1841-1843, incomplete). *The Reformer* (weekly: 1833, March-December), *The Hindu Intelligencer* (weekly: 1849. 1853-1855, 1857, incomplete). The first five edited by the British residents reflected British opinion about local conditions. Nearly all of them contain notices of native associations and meetings, excerpts from vernacular papers in translation and some useful correspondence by educated natives.

Special mention may be made of the *India Gazette* and the *Bengal Hurkaru*. *The India Gazette* (1831-1833) under the editorship of William Adam took up issues like Freedom of the Press (June 5, 1832), Grievances against British monopolies (January 2, 1832), Indianisation of Services (April 19, 1832). It has in its columns quite a few editorials from the *Enquirer* and the *Gynaneshun*—the mouthpieces of Young Bengal which are taken as lost for ever. It has also excerpts from the *Reformer* 1832, *Chandrika* 1832, and the *East Indian*. *The Gazette* is in good condition with very few brittle pages. The earlier series, 1821-1832 are in the main building of the National Library and inadvertantly named the *Gazette of India*. As such, it escapes notice of the scholars.

The Bengal Hurkaru, the most celebrated newspaper of the time, has been well-preserved in the National Library Nawspaper Section, and in a continuous series (with but a few omissions) covering the entire period under review. The issues 1842, 1843, are brittle. *The Hurkaru* gives the most dependable assessment of native public opinion. Its estimate of the Old and Young Bengal is useful. Its correspondence columns had been the most frequent resort of the educated natives. Eloquent expressions of native feelings on issues like Peasant conditions, Vernacular education, Female education, Polygamy, Widow-marriage, Indianisation of services, Commerce, Administrative reform, Idolatry are recorded regularly for half a century, giving a fair index of the change of public opinion during the period under review. Specially the brilliant series of articles like *The grievances of India* by J.E.R. and *Old Hindoo* in the year 1843 have to be mentioned. It also reports the proceedings of public meetings and records speeches by eminent men of the time, *e.g.*, public meeting at the Town Hall to address John Sullivan on the question of Indianisation of services and the speech of Baboo Ramgopal Ghosh in the issue of April 20, 1843. In its issue of June 7, 1844. it records the proceedings of the Hare Anniversary Meeting, inclusive of the speech by Rev. K.M. Banerji on Education.

The Reformer, the *Hindu Intelligencer* and the *Hindu Patriot*—edited by Prosanno Coomar Tagore, Kasiprosad Ghosh

and Harish Mukherji—are specimens of native journalism in three stages: representative of the spirit of the Thirties, around Fifties, and the following period respectively. *The Reformer* besides its brilliant editorials on every subject of local importance has in its correspondence columns series of writings on Native improvement, Commerce, Religion, Vernacular education. Native response to trade and religion is nowhere better illustrated. The available issues are bound in one volume, which is in a very brittle condition unfit for use now. *The Hindu Patriot* contains the fiery editorials of Harish Mukherji on the Indigo question, Indian participation in administration and legislature, the Press, etc.

As to English Periodicals in the National Library, mention may be made of the following: *Calcutta Journal* (1818-1822, irregular), *Calcutta Monthly Journal* (1797-1841, a few issues wanting), *Bengal Spectator* (1842-43, bilingual), *Asiatic Journal* (1816-1845), *Calcutta Review* (1844-1912).

The *Calcutta Journal* edited by James Silk Buckingham is the most sympathetic and honest journalism of the raw years of the 19th century. Its Asiatic Department contains extracts from *Sambad Kaumudi* and the *Mirat-ul-Ukhber*, the journals accredited to Rammohan. *Bengal Spectator*, the mouthpiece of the Young Bengal in their mature years, is the most precious collection in the Periodical Section of the National Library. Every bit of it is indispensable for an appraisal of native opinion. It can be regarded as the biography of the Young Bengal. The *Calcutta Monthly Gazette* has in its columns extracts from most of the contemporary journals and these help to bridge gaps in a study of public opinion. So also the Asiatic Intelligence sections of the *Asiatic Journal* which supply in more abundance extracts from the lost journals like *Sambad Kaumudi*.

The Calcutta Review has simply gems of essays by eminent natives and friends of India on almost all the important problems of the day for perhaps the longest stretch of time. Articles like *Zamindar and the Ryot* by Pearychand Mitra (1846), *Indigenous education* by Rev. Duff (1844), *The Owner of the Soil* (1859), *Indian Agricultural Exhibition* (1865), *George Thompson in 1843* (1909), *History of the Press in India* (1911) abound and

one can look up the *Centenary Index* of the *Review* for more titles of relevance. The condition of the periodicals is satisfactory.

The vernacular newspapers and periodicals of the period are fewer in number and the best collection is at the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Library. Mention may be made of the *Digdarshan, Samachar Darpan, Samachar Chandrika, Sambad Bhaskar, Sambad Probhakar, Tattwabodhini Patrika, Sambad Purnachandrodaya, Sambad Dwijaraj, Samachar Sudhabarshan, Sarbasubhakari Patrika, Sadharani, Vividhartha Sangraha* and the *Masik Patrika.*

Digdarshan (1818, monthly), the first vernacular paper from Serampore, reflected contemporary condition of the country admirably but for the unavoidable missionary bias. Available numbers, 1818-1820. The other contemporary, *Samachar Darpan,* a weekly, had a longer life up to 1840. The Library has issues for the period, 1225-1228 B.S., 1244 B.S. (1818-1822 and 1836-37). The other numbers could not be traced though excerpts from the journal are seen in the columns of the *Asiatic Journal,* and *India Gazette.* It was really the mirror of the day and had interesting correspondence like the Petition of a spinning woman or a Letter by a Zamindar on colonisation. Selections from the journal under the title, *Sambadpatre sekaler Katha* by B. N. Banerjee are available.

Samachar Chandrika (1822) edited by Bhabanicharan Banerjee, the mouthpiece of the conservatives, has few issues extant, namely of 1238 B.S. (1830). Some extracts of the journal are to be found in the *Calcutta Journal,* some in an article by Sushil De, (*Calcutta Review,* August, 1922). *The Sambad Bhaskar* (1839) was edited by Gourisankar Tarkabagish. It was one of the representative papers of native opinion though occasionally stooping to yellow journalism. Available numbers are for the year 1251, 1255-57, 1260-1261 B.S. The editorial of 26th May, 1849 can be cited as a typical example of its liberal journalism.

The major publication of the time was the *Sambad Probhakar* (weekly: 1831; later daily: 1839) edited by *Poet* Iswar Chandra Gupta. The library has 1247, 1256, 1258-63, 1266, 1770,

1285, 1298-99 B.S. *Probhakar* was conservative cum liberal in sentiment. Its concern for native improvement through commerce and vernacular education are revealed in the editorials. It was the accredited platform of the elite of Bengal though largely excluding the Young Bengal of which it was very critical, as in *Probhakar*, 1256, (1849-50). The other great periodical, *Tattwabodhini Patrika* started by Devendranath Tagore and Akshoy Kumar Datta had a long run from 1765 to 1853 saka era (1843-1931 roughly). The *Patrika*, for its chaste Bengali and sophisticated journalism, earned wide popularity and was treated as a text in many schools. It was also the mouthpiece of the Adi Brahmo Samaj. Its editorials on Religion Education, and Peasant conditions are extremely useful : many of them were penned by Akshoy Kumar himself. Editorials on the last topic can be read in the Baisakh, Sraban and Agrahayan numbers, 1772 saka (1850).

The library also has *Sambad Purnachandrodaya* (daily · 1258, 1266, 1277-78). Some extracts are quoted in translation in *Hurkaru*, (1849-50). *Samachar Sudhabarshan* (1275 B.S.), *Sarbasudhakari* (1772 saka), *Sambad Dwijaraj* (1270 B.S.) are the others. Special mention must be made of *Vividhartha Sangraha* (monthly) edited by Rajendralal Mitra and later by Kaliprosanna Sinha of which the library has numbers for the period 1773-1776, 1779-80, and 1782 saka. The *Masik Patrika* edited by Pearychand Mitra and Radhanath Sikdar was specially brought out by them for Womanhood in plain idiom and language. The numbers available are 1262 B.S. (7th and 10th), 1264 B.S. (11th).

If newspapers and periodicals are source materials for a study of public opinion, tracts and pamphlets are more so—by their very nature. The National Library has a large collection of these pamphlets, though they have not been catalogued separately. They have been classified according to authors and titles. In most cases, several pamphlets are bound together and the name of the first one in the bound volume is entered in the card index. Without any previous reference, this makes the task of tracing them difficult. A full list of the pamphlets is long awaited by the scholars. Some of the titles handled can be given here at random : *Remarks on the Black Acts* (1851),

A Prize Essay on Native Female Education by Rev. K. M. Banerji (1841), *On Caste System* (1851), *Young Bengal Vindicated* by Kristodas Pal, *The Government and the People* by Kishorichand Mitra, *Hindu Loyalty* by S. M. Tagore, *A Discourse on the Domestic Life and Condition of the Bengali Society* by S. C. Mitra (1856), *An Address on Native Female Education* by Harachandra Datta (1855), *Agriculture in Bengal* by Pearychand Mitra, *A Pamphlet in refutation of a lecture by Rev. K.M. Banerji against Vedantism* (1854). Edited collections of speeches by eminent persons of the time are also sources of this kind. They include Speeches of Ramgopal Ghosh, Rajendralal Mitra, George Thompson by Raj Jogeshur Mitra, those of Kristodas Pal by R. C. Palit etc.

The vernacular pamphlets kept in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Library are many in number though no separate catalogue is maintained for them, everything having been entered in one grand catalogue of accessions in alphabetical order. Some of the titles seen may be mentioned : *Strisikhsha Vidhayak* (1822) by Gourmohan Vidyalankar, *Mad Khawa bara day jat thakar ki upay* (on Drunkenness) by Pearychand Mitra (1861), *On Temperence* by Gopal Banerji (1864), *Hindu Dharmer Sresthata (Supremacy of Hinduism)* by Rajnarain Bose (1872), as also *Old Hindoo's Hope* (1885), *On Widow Marriage (Bidhaba Vivaha Bishayak Prostab)* by Vidyasagar (1871), *On Anglisism (Ekei ki bale Bengali Saheb)* by Diksunya Bhattacharji (1874).

As to proceedings of the representative societies that of The Society for The Acquisition of General Knowledge is available in a bound volume in the Ashutosh Collection of the National Library. The *Proceedings of the British Indian Association* are surveyed in the *Report of the Regional Records Survey Committee*, Government of West Bengal, 1957 by Sujata Ghosh. *The Proceedings of the Bengal British India Society* and the *Landholders Society* are also regularly printed in the *Bengal Hurkaru* and the *Bengal Spectator* from the time of their inception.

Autobiographies and biographies also constitute a major source. A few autobiographies in vernacular may be noticed, being available in both National and the Bangiya Sahitya Pari-

shad Libraries : *Atmacharits* of Dewan Kartikeyachandra Roy, Devendranath Tagore, Rajnarain Bose, Sibnath Sastri, Satyendranath Tagore and Rabindranath etc. They are simply treasure-houses of information.

Biographies are primary source, when they are written by contemporaries or near contemporaries of their heroes, and they contain source materials which cannot be traced now. Some of them can be mentioned here : *Rammohan Roy* by S. D. Collet, Carpenter, Adam, Kishorichand Mitra ; *Derozio* by Edwards, Madge, Bradley-Birt, Benoy Ghose ; *Dwarkanath Tagore* by Kishorichand Mitra, Sudhindranath Tagore (in Bengali) ; *David Hare,* and *Ramkamal Sen* by Pearychand Mitra ; *Ramdulal De* by Girish Ghosh ; *Ramtanu Lahiri* by Sibnath Sastri (in Bengali) ; *Motilal Seal* by Kishorichand Mitra ; *Kishorichand Mitra, Dakhinaranjan Mukherji, Kaliprosanno Sinha, Bholanath Chandra* by Manmatha Nath Ghosh (all in vernacular) ; *Digambar Mitra* by Bholanath Chandra ; *Kristodas Pal* by R. G. Sanyal ; *Vidyasagar* by Benoy Ghosh (in Bengali).

A few collections of a similar nature are equally important. They are : *A General Biography of Bengal Celebrities, Reminiscences and Anecdotes* by Ramgopal Sanyal ; *Unavimsa satabdir Bangla, Bharater Mukti sandhani* by Jogesh Bagal ; *Dictionary of Indian Biography* by C. E. Buckland ; *History of the Chiefs, Rajahs. Zamindars* by Lokenath Ghosh ; *Sahityasadhak Charitamala (Lives of Literatteurs)* by Bangiya Sahitya Parishad.

A brief stock-taking of literature as source materials also seems to be called for. Works in English like *The Persecuted—A drama* by Rev. K. M. Banerji (1831) : *Essays on Miscellaneous Subjects* by Soshee Chunder Datt. containing a remarkable essay on the Young Bengal (1854) ; *Travels of a Hindu* by Bholanath Chandra, containing ideas of National Education in the second volume ; *Gobindo Samanta* by Lalbehari De (1874) are significant indeed. As to vernacular productions, *Kalikata kamalalaya* by Bhabani Chandra Banerjee, *Alaler gharer dulal* by Pearychand Mitra, *Hutompanchar naksha* by Kaliprosanno Sinha ; *Neel Darpan* by Dinobandhu Mitra are indispensable. They are available in both Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and National Libraries.

The two collections of letters in vernacular, *Prachin*

chithipatra by S. N. Sen and *Chithipatre samajchitra* by Panchanan Mondal, are available in Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Library and the National Library. This source remains virtually unexplored by scholars.

Lastly, the missionary reports, travel accounts and reminiscences by foreigners which are many and in good condition contribute to a balanced picture of the age of Renaissance. A few titles can be noticed : The two treatises on *Hindu manners and customs* by Ward (1818), Abbe Dubois (1817) ; F. J. Shore : *Notes on Indian Affairs* (1837) ; Bishop Heber : *Narrative of a Journey* (1824-25) ; R. M. Martin : *Eastern India* (1838) ; Adam : *Report on Vernacular Education* (1835-1838) ; Duff : *India and the India Missions* (1839) ; J. Routledge : *English Rule and Native Opinion : Notes taken in 1870-74* (1878).

Besides these, the official records in the State Archives relating to Education, Vernacular education, General and Political Departments, Letters to and from the Court of Directors which have a bearing on the subject may also be consulted.

PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES IN FRENCH FOR INDIAN STUDIES

INDRANI RAY

I PROPOSE to limit myself to *two types of primary printed sources in French*, with or without English translation, which I have come across in the course of my research on the activities of the French East India Company in Bengal in the first half of the 18th Century. These documents cover roughly the period from 1650-1760. I want to stress their value as source of information on the social and economic conditions of India, with special emphasis on the 18th Century port towns as the focal point of European presence in India. Most of the documents dealt with are to be found in one or more of the following libraries in Bengal: (a) The National Library, (b) The Asiatic Society of Bengal, (c) The Institute of Chandernagar. I have included a few others which might not be available in any of these, in view of their importance.

To start with the better known group—*travellers accounts and memoirs or journals* of missionaries and administrators, I am passing over such well-known works as those by Bernier, Tavernier and Thevenot, indispensable sources for the study of the second half of the 17th century. All three are available at the National Library and the first two at the Asiatic Society. (I should like

to point out my lack of knowledge about the Chandernagar Institute so far as this group is concerned.) Neither of these two has the memoirs of François Martin, founder and governor of Pondichery. These cover the period 1665-1696, and constitute a mine of valuable information and observations on such varied subjects as the rise of the Maratha power under Shivaji; the Deccan campaigns of Aurangzeb; description of important towns like Surat, Bagnagar and Masulipatam; and the growth of Pondichery from an insignificant village into a busy commercial centre. There are numerous references to the entire Coromondal Coast. These were published by Alfred Martineau, the historically inclined governor of Pondichery, between 1931 and 1936.

The letters of Jesuit missionaries, first published by the Society of Jesus between 1780-83 with the title *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses,* full of details on Indian life and society are available at the Asiatic Society, though I regret not to have remembered whether these are of a later edition published in 1839. Of particular importance among these letters are one of 1742 and another 1748 on the technique of the renowned art of cloth painting on the Coromondal Coast, one of 1709 on the arts and crafts of Bengal, another of 1753 on Chandernagar.

There are quite a few important traveller accounts in French which are not available in these two Calcutta libraries. For example, there is the small and little known but delightful work of M. Luillier with picturesque descriptions of the port towns of Bengal such as Chinsura, Calcutta and Chandernagar and their hinterland. M. Luillier visited India in 1702. His work has several editions, one of 1705, from Paris, another of 1726, from Rotterdam.

I am concluding this section with a reference to an exceptional document which does not come under French sources: *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai,* interpreter and broker of Dupleix in Pondichery. It covers the period 1736-1761 but is particularly detailed for the 1750s. The National Library has got nine out of the twelve volumes of the English translation of the *Diary.* It provides us with a rare opportunity of looking at many traditional aspects of Indian Society as well as at the phenomenon of European presence in India through the eyes of

an Indian. But one must have a thorough grasp of local conditions to be able to appreciate and utilise fully his numerous comments on the life and people in and around Pondichery as he, naturally, does not explain things which are only too familiar to him.

The *second group consists of a number of documents from the Archives of French India* published from Pondichery and Paris by the Society of the History of French India, published mostly between 1815-1920, and some between 1933-1936. Among the three libraries mentioned before, the Institute of Chandernagar has got the fullest collection of these sources, though I do not know whether it has the complete series. The National Library has the following:

The *Summary* of the birth, death and marriage registrars of Pondichery between 1676-1760 ;

The *Correspondence* between Pondichery and the Directors of the Company on the one hand ; and

Those between Pondichery and Chandernagar on the other.

The useful *Catalogue of Manuscripts* in the old Archives of Pondichery dating from 1690-1789 ; and

An interesting collection of reports of law-suits with the title, *Criminality in the French Factories in India during the 18th Century.*

This *Criminality* series constitutes in my opinion the most important printed source for the study of the French towns in India during the period under review ; but their possibilities are not limited to this. One can reconstruct, from these, a good deal of the existing framework within which the small European merchant communities had to function, and can trace some new developments like the *Bargi* invasions in Bengal, the pressure of hostilities in Europe, etc. Local figures, ranging from *Alivardi Khan* and the *Jagat Seths* down to the petty Indian brokers emerge vividly from these documents. One can also feel the growing tension, uncertainty, and dissatisfaction which mark the relationship between the local governments and the foreign merchants towards the end of this period.

The Minutes of the Superior Council of Pondichery for the

years 1701-1739 are yet to be fully explored. They throw light on many aspects of the colonial town, such as the conflict between the Jesuits and local castes, the inter-dependence of Indian and European merchants in the field of Asian trade, and also on the specific roles of the various commercial centers of the country.

This series does offer new possibilities for research on the old theme of European presence in Asia.

THE MUGHUL AND PORTUGUESE EMPIRES

SUKUMAR RAY

I SHOULD like to confine my bibliographical comments to the entire Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries. My experience with Calcutta Libraries is in respect of three: National Library, The Library of the Asiatic Society, and Calcutta University Library. Most of the printed materials I have consulted at Calcutta are to be found in all three collections, excepting—of course—the Portuguese sources which are available at National Library only.

Two empires were founded in the Sixteenth Century in India: The Mughul and Portuguese. The source materials in respect of the Mughul empire are mainly in Persian, and only a portion of them have been printed and published. The majority of the original Persian sources are in manuscripts. In this discussion, we should of course confine ourselves to printed material. The works mentioned below form the most important original printed authority for Indo-Muslim history during these Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries.

MUGHUL EMPIRE: *Persian Sources*

Babur-nama

The primary and best original work for the foundation of

the Mughul empire in India. English translation by A. S. Beveridge, 2 vol. (Luzac, 1921). Persian text, translation by Abdur Rahim in 1589 A.D. Lithographed text (Bombay, 1890-91)*.

Habib-ur-Siyar : Khvand Amir (Bombay, 1856-57)

Completed in 1528-29. A general history. The author came to visit Babur in India ; text important for the early career of Babur.

Tarikh-i-Rashidi : Haidar Dughlat

A history of the Mughuls up to the date of composition, 1545-46. English translation by Elias and Ross, 1895.

Humayun-nama : Gulbadan Begam

An account of Babur and Humayun. Persian text edited and translated by A. S. Beveridge, 1902.

Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat : Jauhar Aftabehi

Memoirs of the Emperor Humayun, from his accession to his death. The author was with the Emperor throughout the period. English translation by Charles Stewart, 1832.

Humayun-nama : Khvand Amir

An account of the rules and ordinances established by the emperor, and some of the buildings erected by him. Completed in 1534. Persian text edited by Hidayat Husain, 1940.

Tarikh-Humayun wa Akbar : Bayazin Biyat

A history of the reigns of Humayun and Akbar, from 1542-43 to 1590-91 ; and completed in 1591-92. The Persian text edited by Hidayat Husain, 1941.

Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghani : Ahmad Yadgar

A history of the Afghan rulers of India, and of Babur and Humayun to 1556. The Persian text, completed in 1614, was edited by Hidayat Husain, 1939.

Makhzan-i-Afghani : Khvaja Ni'matullah

From the origin of the Afghans, this history closes with date of its composition in 1613. English translation by B. Dorn as

* All dates are in the Christian Calendar, unless otherwise stated.

History of the Afghans, (1829). Persian text edited by M. Imam-uddin, 1964.

Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral : Sidi Ali Rais From the Turkish into English, by A. Vambery, 1899.

The author in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia during the years 1553-56. He was in India during the death of Humayun and accession of Akbar.

Sharaf-nama : Sharaf Khan (St. Petersburg, 1860-62)

Completed in 1596-97, this is a history of the Kurds which throws light on Humayun's history. The Persian text, in two volumes.

Ahsan-ut-Tawarikh : Hasan-i Rumlu (Baroda, Gaikwar's Oriental Series)

Completed in 1577, this general history of Islam during the Sixteenth Century gives valuable information on Indo-Persian relations.

Tirkih-i-Alam Ara-i-Abbasi : Iskandar Munshi (Teheran, 1896)

A history of the Safavi Shahs of Persia, completed in 1629, which throws further light on Indo-Persian relations.

Zafarul Walih bi Muzaffar wa Ali : Abdullah Muhammad

A history of Gujarat in Arabic, completed in 1611 ; contains chapters on Mughul emperors. Three volumes, 1910, 1921, and 1928.

Tarikh-i-Gujarat : Abu Turab Wali

The Persian text, edited by E. D. Ross, 1908.

Mirat-i-Sikandari : Sikandar ibn Muhammad

The Sultans of Gujarat from 1407 to 1591-92. Text, completed in 1611, has been printed at Bombay, 1890 ; and Baroda, 1961. It was translated into English by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, Bombay 1899 ; and is included in Bayley's *Gujarat*, 1886.

Akbar-nama and *Ain-i-Akbari :* Abu'l Fazl

Standard sources composed during Akbar's reign are available at all important libraries. The Persian text and English translations by Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari ;* by Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* are well known.

Insha-i-Abul Fazl

A collection of letters written by Abu'l Fazl in the name of Akbar and also in the author's own name, 1863-64 ; 1913.

Tarikh-i-Firishta : Firishta (Bombay, Poona, 1832 ; Lucknow, 1864-65)

General history of India from the Muslim conquest to the date of composition. Completed in 1606-07. An English translation by J. Briggs, 4 vol. 1829, 1909.

Maasir-i-Rahimi : Abdul Baqi Nahavandi

Short history of India from the time of the Ghaznavids to date of composition, with biographical details of Abdur Rahim Khanan and his ancestors. Completed in 1616 ; published in 1910-31.

Tuzuk-i-Jahangari : Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangir. Ed. by Sayyid Ahmed Khan (Aligarh, 1864).

There has also been an English translation by Rogers and Beveridge, 2 vol. 1909-14.

Iqbal-nama : Mutamid Khan

The history of Jahangir from his accession to his death. Persian text, 1865.

Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh : Sujan Rai

Completed in 1696, this history of India from the earliest time to the accession of Aurangzib in Persian. Text edited by Zafar Hasan, 1918.

Muntakhab-ul-Lulab : Khafi Khan

Completed in 1732-33, a general history of India from the Muslim conquest to composition date, 1869-74.

Burhan-i-Maasir : Ali Bin Azizullah Tabatabai (Hyderabad 1936)

Begun in 1592, this history of the Bahamanis of Gulbarga and Bidar, and the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar closes at 1596.

Basatin-us-Salatin : Ibrahim Zubairi (Haidarabad, 1892-93)

Completed in 1824. A history of the *Adil Shahis of Bijapur to time of Aurangzeb's conquest. Valuable, based on contemporary sources some of which are no longer extant.*

Hadiqat-ul-Alam : Mir Alam (Haidarabad, 1850 : 1892-93)

History of the Qutb Shahis of Golconda and the Nizams of Haidarabad, to 1799. Completed about 1800.

Mirat-i-Ahmadi : Ali Muhammad Khan

A history of Gujarat from the earliest times to 1761. Vernacular editions at Bombay, 1889 ; and Baroda, 1927-30, in three volumes. English translation by J. Bird, as *The Political and Statistical History of Gujarat*, down to Akbar's reign, (London, 1835) ; and English translation of the *Supplement* by Nabob Ali and Seddon (Baroda, 1928).

Maasir-ul-Umara : Shah Nawaz Khan

Completed in 1747, this gives the lives of great nobles of the Indian empire from Akbar's reign to the date of composition, 1888-91.

Baharistan-i-Ghaibi : Mirza Nathan (Gauhati, 1936)

Bengal and Orissa in Jahangir's time, the M. I. Borah two-volume translation into English is cited.

MUGHUL EMPIRE : *European Sources*

Of non-Persian European sources, the following works deserve mention :

Hoyland : *Commentaries of Father Monserrate*. Tr. from Latin, 1922.

De Laet : *Empire of the Great Mogul*. Tr. from Dutch by J. S. Hoyland, (Bombay, 1928).

Pelsaert : *Jahangir's India*. Tr from Dutch by Moreland and Geyl, 1925.

Du Jarric : *Akbar and the Jesuits* ; also *Jahangir and the Jesuits*. Tr. from the French by C. H. Payne, 1926 and 1928, respectively.

Rily : *Ralph Fitch England's pioneer to India*, 1899.

Description of the Mughul empire under Akbar, in 1585.

Foster : *Early travels in India*, 1921.

Locke : *The first Englishman in India* (Broadway Travellers series)

Varthema : *Travels, 1503-1508,* (Hakluyt Society, 1863).

Bernier : *Travels.* Ed. by V. A. Smith, 1914.

Tavernier : *Travels in India.* Ed. by Crooke, 2 vol. 1925.

Roe, Thomas : *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India.* Ed. by Foster, (Hakluyt Society, 1899, 1926).

Manucci : *Storia do Mogor.* English translation by W. Irvine, 4 vol. 1907-08.

PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

Printed sources in Portuguese language, available at National Library, include the following which may be specially mentioned :

Commentarios do Grand Afonso d'Albuquerque. 4 vol. (Lisbon, 1774).

Also an English translation by W. de Gray Birch.

The Commentaries of the Great Afonso D'Alboquerque, (Hakluyt Society. 1875-77).

Joao de Barros : *Decadas da Asia,* 9 vol. 1777-78.

Biker, J. F. : *Colleccao de tratados,* 14 vol. 1881-87.

A valuable collection of documents relating to Indo-Portuguese history.

Farno Lopes de Castanheda : *Historia do Descebrimento.*

Covers the period 1497-1549 ; was published in 1551-61 ; and reprinted in 1833.

Gaspar Correa : *Lendas da India.*

History of the Portuguese from 1497-1549, 4 vol. 1858-64. Stanley translation of a portion, *The three Voyages of Vasco da Gama and his Viceroyalty,* (Hakluyt Society, 1869).

Diogo do Couto : *Decadas da Asia.*

The period 1526-1600, 15 vol. 1778-87.

Manoel de Faria e Sousa : *Asia Portugeza,* 3 vol. 1666-75.

NOTE. Dr. S. Ray's paper presents as subject bibliography many of the titles mentioned elsewhere within this compilation. Their general availability within Calcutta must be kept in mind by the historian. ksd

POLITICAL and SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY PRIMARY PRINTED SOURCES

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

My researches and studies relate mainly to the period we are considering today, the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries and especially the first part of this four-hundred year span.

The primary printed sources for the Sixteenth through the first half of the Eighteenth Centuries may be grouped, for the sake of convenience, as related to Political History and to Socio-economic History. I shall confine myself to materials in Persian and in English only; and to items available in the Libraries of the Asiatic Society and the National Library with its Buhar Collection.

For the convenience of readers, National Library has two types of catalogues: a series of printed book catalogues, and a two-part index. The book catalogues have been published and distributed all over the world, as well as having been made available to readers at the National Library itself. The card index is divided as an alphabetical author section and an alphabetical subject section; in addition there are separate author files for books in the Indian languages.

The Asiatic Society Library also has two sections to its card index, it currently issues a printed monthly bulletin of recent

acquisitions, and there have been several cumulated printed catalogues prepared during the many years of the Library's existence.

POLITICAL HISTORY

For studying political history of the period, Persian sources constitute the main authorities. These are to be found mostly in manuscripts, but some have been edited and printed and/or translated into English and other languages. Reference must be made here, first to the *Bibliotheca Indica Series* of the Asiatic Society. Since 1860, texts of medieval histories written in Persian or Arabic, have been edited and/or translated into English. The edited texts and translations within this series are available on the Asiatic Society's shelves, and also for sale in fascicules or in bound volumes. Unfortunately some of the printed texts or their translations have become brittle, while the sets available for sale are sometimes incomplete—chiefly because the available fascicules are not always consecutive.

Secondly, there are the eight volumes of the *History of India as told by its own Historians*, by Elliot and Dowson (published 1867-77) containing translations into English (in long extracts or abstracts) or notices of Persian and Arabic Indo-Moslem historians and Arab travellers (from about mid-Eighth to mid-Nineteenth Centuries)

As regards Elliot and Dowson's works, the original edition volumes have become very brittle, both in the Asiatic Society and National Libraries. A new photo-copy is available. The National Library possesses the rare *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India* (1849) by Sir Henry Elliot. The *Commentary* by Hodivala on Elliot and Dowson is in the National Library, as also the reprint of Volume Two with Introduction by Professors Habib and K. A. Nizami.

The works of the royal autobiographers. Babur or Jahangir ; memoir writers, Mirza Haidar Dughlat, Gulabadan and others : official historiographers, Abul Fazl, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Muhammad Kazim, and Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan ; non-official historians, Nizamuddin, Abdul Qadir, Badaoni, Ferishta, Shitab Khan, and Khafi Khan are represented either in manuscripts or in print, on either Asiatic Society or National Library

Buhar Collection shelves. The English translations of some manuscripts are also to be found, either in the original or revised editions in both libraries. But it must be admitted that the National Library is richer so far as the English translations are concerned.

Taken in the above order, some of the translations available in the National Library are:

Babur's Memoirs, tr. by Leyden & Erskine (1826); by Mrs. Beveridge (1921); and by Lucas King (1921).

Jahangir's Memoirs, by David Price (1904); Rogers & Beveridge. 2 vol. (1909); a new reprint is now available.

Mirza Haidar Dughlat, *Tarikhi i Rashidi*, ed. by Elias & Ross.

Gulabadan: ed. and tr. by Mrs. A. Beveridge (1902).

Jauhar, *Tazkirat ul Waqiat*, tr. by Price.

Abul Fazl, *Akbarnamah*, tr. by H. Beveridge. 3 vol.

Abul Fazl, *Ain i Akbari*, Vol. I by Blochmann (1873); rev. ed. by Phillot (1927); Vols. II and III, by Jarrett (1891, 1893-96); rev. ed. by Jadunath Sarkar (1949 and 1948 respectively).

Md. Saqi Mustaid Khan: tr. by Sarkar (1947).

Nizamuddin: tr. by B. De. 3 vol. (1927-39).

Abdul Qadir Badaoni: tr. by Ranking, Lowe and Haig. 3 vol.

Ferishta: tr. by Briggs. 4 vol.

Shitab Khan, *Baharistan i Ghaibi*, tr. by M. I. Borah. 2 vol. (1936).

Salimullah, *Tarikh i Bangalah*, tr. by Francis Gladwin, as *Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal* (1788).

Bengal Nawabs contains translations by Sir Jadunath Sarkar of *Ahwal i Mahabat Jang* (ca. 1763), by Yusuf Ali; *Muzaffarnamah* (History of Bengal and Bihar) (1722-72), by Karam Ali; and *Nau Bahar i Murshid Quli Khani*, dated 1729 (Asiatic Society, 1952); *Massir ul Umara*, tr. and with an Index by H. Beveridge and Baini Prasad (1911-64); Ghulam Hussain Salim's *Riyaz us Salatin* (1786-87), tr. by Maulana Abdus Salam (Asiatic Society, 1902); Ghulam Hussain Tabatabai's *Siyar ul Mutakherin*

(1782), tr. both by Raymond (Haji Mustapha) (Calcutta, 1789; reprint, Cambray & Co., 1902); and by Briggs (London, 1822; incomplete); the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence,* from 1759.

Unfortunately, some of the above volumes are in damaged condition.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY

European Records constitute a very important primary source for the period under review. For these one has to go to the National Library. In the first place, there are *Press Lists* and *Handbooks of Records* like these:

Press List of India Office Records from Earliest Date to 1630 (1891).

Sir George Birdwood, *Report on Old Records of India Office* (1891).

Sir William Foster, *A Guide to India Office Records, 1600-1858* (1919).

Sir W. Foster, *A Supplementary Calendar of Documents in India Office Relating to India or to Home Affairs of the East India Company, 1600-1640* (1928).

Press List of Bengal and Madras Papers, 1746-1785 (1902).

J. T. Wheeler, *Handbook of Madras Records, 1834* (1907).

Press List of Copies of Ancient Documents obtained from the India Office, 1749-99 (1914).

Handbook of Records of the Government of India: Imperial Records Department, 1748-1859 (1925).

Unfortunately some of the older records are said to be not available in the National Library. Certain ones have become brittle and hence special permission is required for using them, unless they have been laminated. There are monumental contributions by David Macpherson (1782, 1805); John Bruce (1810); Frederick Charles Danvers (1888-94); W. N. Sainsbury and his daughter, Ethel Bruce Sainsbury (1907-38). The *Colonial Papers, East India Collection, etc., 1513-1616* (1862) was continued by W. N. Sainsbury in *Calendar or State Papers of Colonial Series: East Indies, China and Japan (East Indies and Persia)*, 9 vol. (1862-92) which has records up to 1634. This

was followed by the *Court Minutes of the East India Company from 1635 to 1679,* ed. by E. B. Sainsbury (1907-38).

The story of the initiation of British commerce with India is described by Sir George Birdwood, assisted by William Foster in *The First Letter Book of the East India Company, 1600-1619* (London, 1893), and by Sir William Foster in *Letters Received by the East India Company from Its Servants in the Indies, 1602-17,* 6 vol. (London, 1896-1902). Again the narrative was continued by Sir William Foster in his *English Factories in India, from 1618-69,* 10 vol. (1906-27) ; and by Sir Charles Fawcett for the years *1670-77* in 2 vol. New Series, (1936-52) ; this in turn by Sir Charles Cadell from 1678-84.

C. R. Wilson, the author of the masterly survey of the *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* (1894-1917) continued his labours in *Old Fort William in Bengal,* 2 vol. (1906). The *Diaries of William Hedges during his Agency in Bengal, 1681-87* and the *New Account of the East Indies of Capt. Alexander Hamilton* (1727) were both edited just two centuries after their respective composition. Meanwhile the *Diaries of Streynsham Master (1675-80)* and *Vestiges of Old Madras (1640-1800)* came to be edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple (1911) and Col. Henry Davidson Love (1913) respectively. One can also study here *Bengal and Madras Papers* in two volumes : *I, 1670-88,* and *II, 1688-1757,* from the Imperial Records Department ; and Rev. James Long's *Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government, 1748-67, Vol. I,* (1869), which relates mainly to the social conditions of Bengal.

Records of Fort St. George are also available in the National Library :

Masulipatam Consultation Book, 1682-83 (1916).

Sundry Book, 1677-1688. 4 vol. (1910-15).

Letters to Fort St. George from 1681-1704. 8 vol. (1916-31).

Letters from Fort St. George to Subordinate Factories. Vol. 1-13. (1915-29).

Diary and Consultation Book from 1680 to 1696 (1912-21).

French Correspondence, the Public Sundry Book, No. 9, 1752 (1916).

Diary and Consultation Book of Agent, Governor and Council of Fort St. George 1682, ed. by Arthur T. Pringle (1894).

Fort William—India House Correspondence, from 1748 (in the Indian Record Series).

The last title above relates to both Fort William and Fort St. George.

ACCOUNTS OF FOREIGN TRAVELLERS

The National Library is also richer than the Asiatic Society Library as regards this category of accounts. They constituted "a motley crowd of merchants and medicos, envoys and ecclesiastics, soldiers and sailors, fortune-hunters and adventures of all descriptions" and their accounts are of undoubted value as materials for Socio-economic history. Apart from Jesuit accounts which form a class by themselves (*e.g.* Monserrate, Peruschi, Bartoli, Du Jarric, De Sousa) I have to refer particularly to the accounts of Europeans other than Jesuits. All these have been utilised by the biographers of the Great Mughals; but their comprehensive, critical, and synthetic use still awaits the devoted labours of the social and economic historians of the period as a whole.

In 1613 Samuel Purchas published his *Purchas his Pilgrimage or Relations of the World* etc. Its second edition was published in 1625, with additions, as *Purchas his Pilgrimes.* During the Twentieth Century, the best edition of Purchas was published by Mac-Lehose (1905) under the title *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimage.* Thereafter volumes appeared either under the auspices of the Hakluyt Society, or under individual enterprise, or in the *Indian Record Series.* Thus we have, in the National Library, accounts of travellers from the beginning of the Sixteenth Century to the end of the Eighteenth. These travellers came in quick succession, and some of them were actually present at almost the same time. They belonged to different nationalities: Portuguese, Italian, Englishmen, Germans, French, Dutch, etc.

Travellers whose writings are included in various series are named in the following groups. Travel years are indicated following the personal name.

Purchas : Caesar Frederike (1563-81) ; John Saris (1605-13) ; Joseph Salbancke (1609) ; Sir Henry Middleton (1610-11) ; Richard Steele and John Crowther (1615-16).

Hakluyt : Ludovicodi Varthema of Bologna (1502-08) by R. C. Temple (1928) : Duarte Barbosa (ca. 1518) by Dames (1918-21) ; John Huyghen von Linschoten (1583-88) ; Sir James Lancaster (1591-1603) ; François Pyrard de Laval (1608-09) ; John Jourdain (1608-17) by Sir William Foster (1905) ; Nicholas Downton (1610-14) ; Peter Floris (1611-15) ; Thomas Best (1612-14) ; Sir Thomas Roe (1615-19) ; Pieter Van den Broecke (1620-29) ; Pietro Della Valle (1623-24) ; Peter Mundy (1608-67) by R. C. Temple, 5 vol. (1907-36) ; Fray Sebastien Manrique (1629-43) by Luard and Hosten (1926-27) ; Johann Albrecht de Mandelslo (1638-40) ; Thomas Bowrey (1669-79) by R. C. Temple (1905) ; John Fryer (1672-81) by Crooke (1909-15) ; *Relations of Golconda* by W. H. Moreland (1931).

Osborne's *Collection of Voyages and Travels* includes William Bruton (1633).

The *Indian Antiquary* (1906-08) issued the accounts of Richard Bell and John Campbell (1654-70) ed. by R. C. Temple.

Sir William Foster's *Early Travels in India* includes, among others, these seven travellers : Ralph Fitch (1583-91) ; John Mildenhall (1599-1606) ; William Finch (1608-11) ; William Hawkins (1608-13) ; Nicholas Withington (1612-16) ; Thomas Goryat (1612-17) ; and Rev. Edward Terry (1616-19).

Translations of F. Pelsaert (1620-27) and of De Laet (1631) are *The Remonstrantie of F. Pelsaert*, tr. into English as *Jahangir's India,* by Moreland and Geyl ; and De Laet's *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* (1631), tr. into English by Hoyland and Banerji.

Additional Seventeenth Century accounts are those of Jean Baptiste Tavenier (1641-67), ed. by Ball, and also by Crooke ; François Bernier (1656-68) by Constable and Smith (1914) ; John Ogilby (1673) ; Thevenot (1666-67) and Gemelli Careri (1695), both edited by S. N. Sen and published in the *Indian Records Series* ; John Marshall (1668-72) ed. by S. A. Khan

(1907-08); Niccolao Manucci (1653-1708) ed. by Irvine, also reprinted; *The Travels of Abbé Carré in India and the Near East* (1672-74) ed. by Sir Charles and Lady Fawcett, 3 vol. (1948).

Among the travel accounts or observations bearing on socio-economic conditions of the Eighteenth Century may also be mentioned *A New Account of the East Indies*...of Alexander Hamilton (1688-1723) ed. by Sir William Foster; Abbé de Guyon, *New History of the East Indies* 2 vol. (1757); John Splinter Stavorinus, *Voyages to the East Indies*, 1768-71, 3 vol. (1798); T. H. Grose, *Voyage to the East Indies*, 2 vol. (1772); Henry Pattulla, *An Essay*... (1772); Edward Ives, *A Voyage from England to India in 1754* (1773); Abbé G. T. Raynal, *Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, tr. by Justamond, 8 vol. (1783).

The National Library has certain books on Archaeology, Art, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Gazetteers, and Dictionaries.

The *Gazetteers* include *Imperial Gazetteer; District Gazetteers;* and Edward Thornton's *Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East India Company and Native States*, 4 vol. (1854).

Several useful dictionaries are Sir George Watt's two books, *Dictionary of Economic Products of India* (from 1889), and *The Commercial Products of India* (1908); H. H. Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* (1855); and the recently reprinted H. Yule & A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson : A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases* (1886).

PRIMARY SOURCES FOR LITERARY STUDIES IN BENGAL

SUKUMAR SEN

PRINTING started in Bengal in the year 1778 when Halhed's *Grammar of the Bengal Language* was published from Hooghly. For the remaining years of the century a few essential books on civil and criminal law, translated from English into Bengali, were published from Calcutta. There were Hicky's *Gazettes* and other journals mainly commercial, and a few elementary text books and vocabularies. Except Halhed's *Grammar*, of which several copies are still existing in India, the available copies of Eighteenth Century publications are mainly (if at all) to be found outside India, in Britain at the British Museum or the old India Office Library.

Publication of books in Bengali was seriously started by the Serampore Mission Press whose main object was to spread Christianity by publishing translations of the Bible in Bengali and other current Indian languages. As Carey, the head of the Mission, was also head of the Vernacular Department of Fort William College the foundation of which synchronized with the start of the Mission Press, he was also in charge of publication of books that would be suitable for the probationers in the Company's service who were to be taught the native languages

at the College.

Two such books were Krittibasa's *Ramayana* and Kashiram's *Mahabharata* printed for the first time. The rest were all written for the other purpose. One of this class of publications tells the history of Pratapaditya of Jessore, and another deals with the life of Raja Krishnachandra, almost a contemporary. In 1818 the Mission Press started the weekly paper, *Samachar-darpan.*

Fort William College Library was by far the best depository of books printed in Bengal, up to the date of its demotion into a mere examining body in the late 1830s. Subsequently the Library was dissolved ; the books considered important to officials and scholars were sent to Britain ; a few were presented to the Asiatic Society ; and the rest were retained until the early years of this Century by the Board of Examiners. This Board, the successor of Fort William College, was finally abolished and the books of the Library were taken over by the newly started Imperial Records Department where, however, the Bengali books did not find a permanent abode. There was as yet no demand for the dirty-looking old printed books in the native character, and less for the dirtier heaps of vernacular journals. The journals were no doubt quickly disposed of as rubbish but the books, written in Bengali prose and verse, did not all disappear. Some of these found shelter in the private libraries of a few book lovers, and most of the others in the Library of Bangiya Sahitya Parishad.

In the first half of last century the biggest and best depository of printed books in Bengal was the personal Library of Raja Radhakanta Dev. He was a staunch patron of learning and literature and was always ready to subscribe for two or more copies of any book, pamphlet, or journal published in Bengali or in English ; and he received from all sorts of authors presentation copies of their publications. His was a rich and wellkept Library, but it began to decline after the Raja's departure for Brindaban. For a good many years the Library remained intact but, from the beginning of the present century, it has been repeatedly sacked surreptitiously by book-hunters. Some of the most valuable items from the Raja's Library, however, have

found a place in the Library of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Precious numbers of old journals like *Samachar-darpan* and *Sambad-Prabhakar*, now possessed by the Parishad, came from the Raja's Library. Not a few of the remaining books, pamphlets, and journals have since disappeared from their original home. Some of the books have disappeared from the Parishad Library, also some of the journals have been mutilated beyond recovery.

I consulted Raja's *Library* in the late Thirties for a few items that could not be found elsewhere. Even then it had possessed not a few volumes that were unique. (I have come to know since that those volumes are no longer available.) It is true that the trust deed of the Raja prevented his Library from complete disintegration, but what now exists is worse than a shadow

For my own work I had frequented many public and private libraries for books which I could not find in my father's library and in my own collections. The first was Burdwan Raj Public Library, established in 1881 by Maharajadhiraj Aftab Chand. Its substantial and very valuable nucleus came from the Maharaja's own Palace Library which contained valuable collections of his predecessor, Maharajadhiraj Mahatab Chand, who was one of the best patrons of learning and literature of the day. I went to school at Burdwan and the Raj Public Library was my real *alma mater*. Unfortunately the library no longer exists. I happened to pick up a very few precious remnants from the scattered *debris*.

The second library to which I am most indebted is Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Library which may boast, perhaps no longer very truthfully, of the biggest and best collection of Bengali works in manuscript as well as in print. There was a time, and not very long back, when to the educated Bengali the Parishad was the symbol for the cultural aspirations of the people ; and books, artifacts, and manuscripts would be offered from every part of the country. Some of the best and choicest private collections of books in Calcutta came to be incorporated in the Library of the Parishad : to name only two, the collections of Vidyasagar and of R. C. Dutt. From my own experience I must say that it was no easy matter to get access to a "rare" book in the Parishad Library, for the persons in control of the institution at that time

would proclaim as "rare" any book they fancied.

Of the other public libraries which I had hunted with profit, there are Sanskrit College Library (only when I was a student there) and Chaitanya Library. The latter is very rich in fiction and magazines. I also occasionally visited two other old public libraries in Calcutta: Bagbazar Public Library and Reading Room, at Bagbazar; and Bandhab Library, at Champatala. Most of the old, and therefore valuable, books recorded in the catalogues of these Libraries were missing from the shelves. Outside Calcutta, I visited for some time the Public Library at Mohiyari, a few miles from Calcutta on the South Eastern Railway. The Mohiyari Public Library is not rich in the number of volumes; it possesses (or possessed at that time) some books which, though not very valuable, were not available to me elsewhere. I must record here that the books in this Library were all preserved very carefully. I had also visited once or twice the Library of the Baranagore Vaishnav Temple which possessed a very valuable collection of Vaishnav printed books and manuscripts that had originally belonged to the late Amulya Charan Aikat, a college professor and a devoted student of Vaishnavism.

Of the private libraries in Calcutta that I knew, Hemendraprasad Ghose's was the richest. It is now, I understand, acquired by the Jadavpur University. Outside Calcutta there was once the rich private Library of Haridas Burman, a relative of the Raj family of Burdwan, but now this is dispersed. I had visited in 1940 or 1941 the private Library of the Singh family at Bhastara, in Hooghly District. The collection was small but important. I remember to have seen there some copies of Bankimchandra's *Bangadarshan* in original paper cover and with uncut pages.

HISTORICAL STUDIES and BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CONFLICT

NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA

For purposes of research I have worked mainly in Record Offices; and am, perhaps, more acquainted with the contents of records in different Record Offices in India than with the contents of books in our libraries. But the library in which I have worked, whose collection on modern Indian History I am fairly well acquainted with, is the National Library.

About five years ago I was asked to prepare an annotated bibliography of books on Modern Indian History in the National Library collection. According to the terms of the contract I was to do the work in two years. I took the assistance of two part-time workers who were college teachers. I was able to prepare a bibliography of 6000 books on Modern Indian History, and then was told that the technique was not thoroughly orthodox and the list was not exhaustive. My reply was that a part-time worker with the help of other part-time workers could not in two years possibly make the whole thing exhaustive: a supplement could be issued by the department. In the meantime the bibliography which had been prepared could be published for the use of research workers. About the orthodoxy I should say that I had prepared this for the benefit of research workers and

not for historical illiterates. It is the only project ever undertaken by me which has become infructuous.

One of the points raised by me was that there should be a complete list of tracts of Indian history in the English language available both here in India and in the old India Office. The tracts in the National Library collection (in English) are about 650 in number, including those in the Asutosh Collection. I asked them to secure a microfilmed copy of the catalogue of tracts relating to India in the old India Office Library. This was not done. I think the tracts on Indian history which are in the India Office Library are listed in the two stout volumes which every research worker should consult when in England. They number from six hundred to six hundred fifty. The two lists, tracts in India and tracts in London, would make a fairly exhaustive collection.These tracts do not require any annotation. The titles are self-explanatory. Their range, variety and contemporary flavour make them an indispensable source of Modern Indian History.

A selective list will illustrate my point: *A Sermon on the Services of Rev. Swartz; The North West Frontier; Native Education; Why is the Native Army Disaffected?; Young Bengal Vindicated; Opium Revenue of India; History of the Fall of the Old Fort of Calcutta*, by D. L. Richardson; *British Relations with the Chinese Empire in 1832; A Disquisition on the Practice of Usury; A Short Examination of the Hyderabad Papers of Palmer & Co.*

Most of the tracts which I have read, and I have read a considerable number of them, relate mainly to Nineteenth Century History of India.

PRINTED SOURCES FOR 18th and 19th CENTURY STUDIES

An Assessment

PRADIP SINHA

I THINK I should first clearly state what is my field of interest as a researcher : just at this time I am obsessed with what may be called "The Social History of Calcutta from mid-Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Century". More broadly I am interested in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Century Social History of Bengal. Social history is to be understood here as almost identical in nature with anthropology and sociology ; but without a primary conceptual bias and with an old fashioned adherence to sources and documentation. Since the time dimension is the most important thing in history, the subject attains fantastic proportions : but this is not fantastic in practice. In the hands of disciplined historians in the West this is attaining a level of maturity and creating a deep impression on the reading public.

The vast range of resources opened up by new approaches to history demands a severe discipline in their use and poses a challenge to the scholar and to the compiler of historical bibliography. While resources hitherto neglected attain striking importance, much material conventionally important is eliminated. Some things are generally inconsequential and the dis-

criminating bibliographer will not want to produce a jumble of things. Materials for late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Century studies of Indian history in general, and of Bengal history in particular, are relatively more abundant than for the earlier periods. That is mainly due to the availability of printed primary sources.

Apart from printed archival materials available in the State Archives mainly from 1858 to 1905, the largest quantity of printed matter consists of newspapers and journals. The abundance of the latter creates a somewhat misleading notion of its importance. Newspapers in general consist of an overwhelming quantity of ephemeral matter. In Western historiography the value of newspaper material is limited and old newspapers have been sparingly used as sources. The relative scarcity in India of documents of greater technical value does not justify Western skepticism about the use of newspapers. For social history they may at times be the most important source. But the tendency of newspapers to lapse into trivialities or to be taken up with momentary issues renders many of the volumes useless for any historical purpose.

In the course of my researches what impressed me is that a particular newspaper may be strikingly significant for a certain period and then lapse into inconsequence. Among what may be called the Anglo-Bengali papers, the *Hindoo Patriot* maintains a remarkable degree of historical usefulness from 1854 to 1885. Then it suddenly slumps. It is possible to prove this point through indexes of useful material in this and other papers. The sample indexes I have prepared with the help of Sri Kunal Sinha, Assistant Librarian of the Kalyani University, seem to bear this out. Two or three volumes of this journal are missing from the National Library collection. The Uttarpara Library possesses some volumes. Certain of the most useful volumes are not in a proper state of preservation. Concerning their reporting, the 1858 volume gives a rare view of the Bengali reaction to the Sepoy Mutiny while the volume for 1861-62 records a passionate reaction to the Indigo Revolt.

With my interest in Nineteenth Century social history of Bengal I have, however, found particularly useful newspapers

and journals on the early side of the Century rather than on the later side of it. The earlier journals seem to be concerned with society in general rather than with limited segments of it, like associations and organizations which tend to occupy the attention of later issues. The single volume of the *Reformer* (1833), available in the National Library, is a striking document, being full of purposely unedited letters from passionate teenagers. The earlier monthly and quarterly series of the *Friend of India*, available in the National and Carey Libraries, are full of interesting—if somewhat tendentious—articles on various aspects of the social life of Bengal. The *Samachar Darpan*, available in broken series in the National and Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Libraries, is interesting for its varied information. The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Library is undoubtedly the best repository of the Nineteenth Century Bengali newspapers, though the sets are often far from complete. The stray issues of some important journals like the *Grambarta Prakasika*, or "Publisher of Village News", are highly significant.

The great Asutosh Collection in the National Library is still incompletely catalogued and offers scope for exploration. Many rare books in this collection are in much better condition than in the main Library. The Asutosh Collection possesses sets of the rare *Bethune Society Proceedings* and *Proceedings of the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge.* Other recollections and memoirs of a rare nature are to be found there. A striking feature of the Collection is the large volumes of pictures like Solvyns' *The Hindoos, Daniell's Views of Calcutta*, and many others. These give a graphic and still largely unexplored view of the social life of the Indians and the English in Bengal. Some journals like the *National Magazine* are available in connected series only in the Asutosh Collection.

For a reasonably full picture of printed materials for Nineteenth Century Bengal studies, a critical assessment of resources in the National Library, Carey Library, Uttarpara Library and Radhakanta Deb's Library in Calcutta is necessary. The Library last named has pamphlets and tracts not available elsewhere—but they are in a sad state of preservation along with the building which houses them.

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Library has an impressive collection of tracts, pamphlets, literary and semi-literary works. Of these, many are of interest only from the point of view of the history of publications. The content of a large number is of no serious historical import. But here again, tracts and pamphlets of ephemeral nature have a certain value because of the paucity of more serious documentary sources. Of particular significance are the books and pamphlets written by Bengali Muslims, which have peculiar value because of their rarity.

The missionary sources available in substantial quantity in Carey and National Libraries are far richer than contemporary Bengali social tracts in respect of facts and data. But the missionaries generally missed the internal principles of the Indian society and for the sake of balance some dependence on Bengali social and religious tracts is essential. For official sources, other than the State Archives, the best place is the Secretariat Library which, however, has limited accommodation for readers. Books and pamphlets published under official auspices in British India, are not always soul-less materials. The lively interest of some officers gives certain official works (for example, *The Statistical Account of Bengal*) a richness of content not sufficiently utilized despite their easy availability. An unusual place where some interesting materials is located is the Calcutta University Law College Library where books on the formative stage of the Hindu law in British India offer insight into the Hindu social system. Such books are also well represented in the Asutosh Collection.

In conclusion, it must be stated that lack of tradition for preservation of old material following from a callous indifference to history renders a search for old sources in libraries rather unrewarding for historians. The frustration it creates is not healthy for historical treatment and analysis. The historian is often forced to depend almost too heavily on archival sources. Personally I find it more rewarding to work on High Court Archives, Government Records, etc., than to search for old printed materials. New approaches to history have, however, created great scope for reinterpretation of material available in some leading libraries. A conscientious librarian, aware of the new needs of historians, can still do a great job of compilation.

CONTENTS

8 JUNE 1968 SESSION

THE WEST BENGAL SECRETARIAT LIBRARY

ANANTA KUMAR CHAKRAVORTY

THE oldest and largest library of the State Government, the West Bengal Secretariat Library, has its own significance in more than one sense. It has a very precious holding of books including Government publications, mostly from the time of the British settlement in Bengal. The library with its huge stock of rare books and documents has attracted research-scholars from within as also from outside the State. Several scholars of foreign universities have utilised this library for their research.

The library has a specialised collection of old books and records on India, especially on Bengal since the days of the East India Company, offering a great scope for researchers in History of the country—Administration: General and Political, Land-Revenue and Tenancy, Agriculture and Education. Besides, it possesses a complete collection of the *Calcutta Gazette* (formerly *Government Gazettes*) since 1814, *India Gazette* since 1864 and other State Government Gazettes. A fair coverage of gazetters and hand-books of the 18th and 19th Centuries is also one of its features.

A brief summary of the resources of the library which the scholars have found useful for their study and research is given

below :

ADMINISTRATION (General) : It covers all *Administration Reports* of all the provinces of India including the Native States and the Administrative Reforms during the time of British Rule in India and also includes despatches of East India Company since 1600 A.D. ; Records—all important records including district records and abstracts since 1760 ; *Calendar of Persian correspondence, Calendar of State papers : Colonial series—East Indies, China and Japan (1513-1634)* and also proceedings of different committees. Some of the important titles are given below :

Annals of Indian Administration, Edited by M. Townsend 1856-75 : 19 volumes.

Correspondence regarding the comparative Merits of British and Native Administration in India, 1867.

Ilbert Report on Government of India, 1809.

Indian Constitutional Documents, 1600-1918.

Indian Reform : Suggestions for the Consideration of the British Parliament by Taylor, 1871.

Inquiry into the Working and Cost of Establishments in the Home, Foreign, Military and Public Works Department of the Government of India, Bengal Secretariat and the Board of Revenue, 1861.

Memorandum on some of the Results of Indian Administration during the past Fifty Years of British Rule, 1911.

Indian Constitutional Reforms : Various *Reports.*

Indian Statutory Commission : *Reports.*

Administration of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, 1882-87.

Reports on the Administration of Bengal. 1860-1914.

Hand-book of the Circular Orders and Notifications of the Government of India and Government of Bengal, 1858-1882.

ADMINISTRATION (Political) :

Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunads relating to India and Neighbouring Countries.

Sketches of the Relations subsisting between the British Government in India and the different Native States

by Capt. J. Sutherland, 1837.

Report showing the Relations of the British Government with Tribes, Independent and Dependent, on the North-Western Frontier of the Punjab Districts, 1868.

Reports on the Political Administration of Rajputana States, 1865-1909.

Report on the Administration of the Persian Gulf Political Residency and Muscat Political Agency, 1876-1904 (Selections).

Indian Records : Bengal. A Selection of Public and Private papers dealing with the affairs of the British in Bengal during the reign of Siraj-ud-daula.

Calendar of Persian Correspondence. In this correspondence we find the Indian scene dominated by Political unrest, Economic exploitation and Social disorder in different provinces during the British Rule. Some of the letters that passed between the Company's servants and Indian Rulers from 1759 to 1769 refer mainly to affairs of Bengal. It is a large collection of Persian papers including Firmans, Sanads, Treaties, etc.

Calendar of State papers : Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513-1616. The papers calendered in this volume are derived from three great archives—The Public Record Office, The British Museum, and the India Office. It comprises, mainly, papers connected with the early Voyages for discovery of the North-West and other passages to India or "Cathay", down to the year 1616.

The subjects particularly illustrated are these early voyages for discovery of a North-East and North-West Passage ; the establishment of East India Company ; the various successes of the early Voyages to the East-Indies : an account of settling of the different Factories ; the first attempt to establish direct Trade with China ; the opening of Communication with Japan, etc.

AGRICULTURE: Various reports on its improvement, as

Report on the improvement of Indian Agriculture 1891-93.

Commission Reports, Proceedings of the Agriculture Conferences, 1890-1893.

ARCHAEOLOGY: A good coverage, including ancient Build-

ings, Monuments, Art and Painting of ancient India which illustrate the traits and traditions of Indian History and Culture from 250 B.C. to 1830 A.D. Some of the important titles:

Ancient Buildings and Antiquities in Bengal.

Antiquities of Orissa by Rajindralal Mitra, 1875.

Archaeology and Manumental Remains of Delhi by C. Stephens, 1876.

Architectural and Archaeological Remains in Kandesh, 1877.

Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum : Inscription of Asoka, by Cunningham, 1877 : *Early Gupta Kings and their Successors* by Fleet, 1888.

Detailed Report of an Archaeological Tour with Buner Field Force by M. A. Stein, 1898.

Epigraphica Carnatica, 1894-1904.

**Indian Antiquary : a journal of Oriental Research*, 1872-1926.

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nos. 1-51.

Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri by Smith, 1894-98.

Manumental Antiquities and Inscription in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh by A. Fihrer, 1891.

HANDBOOKS AND GAZETTEERS: *Gazetteer of India*, Gazeteers of all provinces and districts from 1879 up to date ; *East India Gazetteer* by Walter Hamilton published in 1815, *Geographical and Statistical Account of Hindostan* by the same author ; and the series of historical, geographical and statistical accounts from 1830 to 1870.

CENSUS: *Census of India and census handbooks from 1872 to 1961*. Right from the census of the Punjab in 1850s through experimental censuses of 1860s. the library possesses almost all the volumes of Indian census up to 1961. The library contains also materials on population of early periods. The first of the eight volumes of studies on population of India prior to the first census relating to the period 1820-1830 published by the Register General, India, contains materials, 80% of which were collected from this library.

EDUCATION: A good coverage of the 18th and 19th Centuries including despatches and various reports ; quinquennial

progress report on education for the whole of India from 1870, reports of the Director of Public Instruction of the Provinces from 1860. Some important titles :

Collection of despatches from the Home Government on the subject of Education in India, 1854-1868.

Despatches from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council on Education in India, 1854.

Education in British India prior to 1854 and in 1870-71 by Howell, 1872.

Education in India : A study of British Education and Policy in India, 1835-1920, and of its bearing on National Life and problems in India today by A. Mayhew.

Notes on the State of Education in India during 1866-67 and 1867-68.

Papers relating to the Re-organisation of Educational Service in India from 1891 to 1897 (India Selected).

Review of Public instruction in the Bengal Presidency from 1835-1851.

European Education, Mahamedan Education, Report on.

Vernacular Education : Adam's Report on vernacular education in Bengal and Bihar, 1835-38 with a brief view of its past and present condition by Rev. J. Long, 1868 ; *Notes on the History and condition of primary education,* 1874.

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION : Important Reports on Land Revenue Administration since 1846.

LAND AND LAND LEGISLATION *Code and Manuals ;* Commission *Reports ;* Tenancy Law—*Bengal Tenancy Bills and Acts* since 1864 ; *Tagore Law Lectures* from 1869-1917 . *Statutes* relating to East India Company from 1841.

RIVERS AND CANALS : Important Reports—including those on Nadia Rivers in Bengal.

SETTLEMENT : Survey and Settlement Reports of various Provinces including Bengal. These reports in hundreds of volumes contain a comparative study of economic past with the present, giving statistical data on prices, wages, etc.

TRIBES AND CASTES : Private publications and Government Reports ; Caste hand-books for the Indian Army.

SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA : 448 such selections on various topics ; and also fifty-eight selection papers from Bengal, 644 selection papers from Bombay ; and an uncounted number from Madras, North-Western Province and Punjab.

PARLIAMENTARY PUBLICATIONS : *Blue-Books, Parliamentary Debates, Annual Series, Miscellaneous Series, Colonial Series,* and *Treaty Series.*

PUBLIC WORKS AND IRRIGATION : Administration Reports of the Public Works Department on Embankments, Canals and Irrigation, etc. ; Annual Report of the River Research ; Commission Report on Irrigation ; Reports on Navigation and Tidal Problems, Drainage ; Roads and Road Statistics.

MEDICAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH : Annual Report on the Health of the Population, Medical Administration, Vital Statistics, etc.

HISTORY : A good collection of rare books particularly related to Bengal. A representative collection of the 18th Century India.

PERIODICALS : Among the periodicals, the library possesses *Calcutta Review* from the beginning in 1844, *Englishman,* afterwards *Statesman* from 1895. (*Englishman 1875-1911*).

These research materials present several problems. Books under the heading Gazetteers and Census, Administration Reports and Records are frequently used. As a result a large number of these old books have been damaged and a problem has arisen for their maintenance. In some cases pages are so brittle that ordinary mending is not possible. Microfilming is essential for these and provision has yet to be made.

Some of the foreign scholars who have visited this library, with their present addresses : Dr. Leo E. Rose, University of California at Berkeley ; Dr. John Broomfield, The University of Michigan ; Mr. Jennings Wood, Library of Congress ; Mr. A. J. N. Richards, University of Cambridge, U.K. ; Mr. Frank Tysen, Claremont College, California ; Dr. Neal M. Bowers, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Dr. Henry Scholberg, University of Minnesota ; Dr. David M. Laushey, Midwestern University, Wichita Falls, Texas,

THE ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS, of the 18th and 19th Centuries, AS SOURCE MATERIALS OF MODERN INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

NAKUL CHATTERJEE

THE National Library in Calcutta has the largest Indian collection of the newspapers. Not all of those available in India's National Library are dailies. There are Bi-weeklies, and Weeklies too. The object of the present paper is not to furnish any detailed description of these newspapers, but to draw the attention of the house to the fact of their existence.

The important newspaper titles available in the National Library are as follows:

Hicky's Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser (1780-1782) gave the social and political picture of Bengal along with all the local gossip concerning the English Community stationed in Calcutta.

The India Gazette, v. 1, 1780, (1822-1833) contained advertisement; news under the headings Administration, Government orders, Book-notices, Government notifications, Letters, Original poetry, Course of Exchange, current value of Government Securities; Editorial paragraphs on Current Affairs—Political and social; Commercial reports, Debate at the East India House, Receipt of Books, Shipping Register, European Intelligence, State of Prisons, Extracts from *The Times*: Births, Deaths, Mar-

riages; Extracts from Lisbon papers; Private Correspondence, Literary Discussions, varieties.

The nature of materials available in the old issues and in the current issues of the *Calcutta Gazette* is not the same. The old issues contain illustrated advertisements—personal and official; "Original poetry", Foreign Intelligence, Parliamentary Debates, Extracts from Newspapers, Government Notifications and Orders, Commercial Intelligence.

The issues of the *Calcutta Chronicle*, v. 1, 1786, for the years 1792 and 1793 are available. In the issues for June-July 1793, there is an advertisement about *An Extensive vocabulary, Bengalee and English* in both English and Bengali.

With the object of publishing advertisements in Gujarati the editor of the *Bombay Courier*, Mr. Luke Ashburner, employed a Parsee named Mobid Jijibhai Behramjee Chhapgar who with his own hands fabricated the first fount of types in the Gujarati character. With these types the advertisements in Gujarati were printed in this paper. Specimens may be found in the issues of 1797 (1793-1800, 1826, 1827).

The first issue of the *Bengal Harkaru and the India Gazette* came out in 1798 but in the National Library the issues of the same are available only from 1824-1866. The weekly and fortnightly supplementary sheets are important.

The Calcutta Morning Post though an English weekly published certain advertisements in Bengali. The available issues of 1810-1811 contains Essays, Political Pieces, Articles of Intelligence, etc.

The Government Gazette started in 1815 as weekly. The *Calcutta Gazette* superseded it in 1833 and from July, 1840 appeared again as bi-lingual weekly printed from Serampore. John C. Marshman was actively connected with it, in his post as Bengali translator to Government.

The *Friend of India*, *The Calcutta Journal*, *The Bengal Spectator*, *The Scotsman in the East*, *Bengal Chronicle*, *The Oriental Observer*, tried to depict the state of affairs in India. *The Bengal Herald or Weekly Intelligencer*, v. 1, 1829, launched by Dwarkanath Tagore, was published in English, Bengali, Persian, and Nagari character. It contained extracts from Indian

newspapers and local news of the day. The importance of the paper was great because of its publication in four languages. *The Mirror of the Press or The Political and Literary Register* (weekly) (1830, May-October) gave the discussions not only to the Indian public, but also to those who were in Europe, for the interest of the welfare of India of what was going on in India. Its focus was literature and politics. *The Reformer*, v. 1, 1831, (1833 March-December) included correspondence on Hinduism, Social questions, Christianity, Editorials on social and political questions of the day. The learned editorials will aptly show the state of education prevalent among Indians. *The Calcutta Courier, new series* (daily) is important for the letters published in its columns. These letters helped directly and indirectly in moulding the public opinion of the day.

The Englishman gave news about learned societies of Calcutta, and first hand information regarding the English version of the socio-political and religious condition of Bengal and India, (1837-1934).

The Eastern Star, v. 1, 1839, (v. 9, 1848) contained a copper plate engraving of pictures of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, presented by her Majesty to Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore. *The Morning Chronicle*, v. 1, 1838, (1850, 1851, 1854-56) published selections from the contemporary newspapers. Besides these *The Hindu Intelligencer*, v. 1, 1846, *The Hindoo Patriot*, *Dacca News*, *The Indian Mirror*, *The Times of India*, *The Bengalee*, *The Indian Daily News*, *National Paper*, *Pioneer*, *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Civil and Military Gazette*, *The Statesman*, *Brahmo Public Opinion*, *Angle-Indian Guardian*, *The Indian Spectator*, *Ries and Rayyat*, *Indian Nation* are important sources for Indian History.

To a student of history, a newspaper becomes useful in so far as it bears on contemporary life and, in that respect, a newspaper is the most comprehensive document of all. It is therefore obvious that the nature of a newspaper of a given period is conditioned by the characteristics of life in the said period. Indian newspapers we are concerned with are no exception. Since journalism in the last two centuries in India has been marked by the tensions of the time, one comes across newspapers

betraying well pronounced biases for one or other side of social opinion. A newspaper meant for religious preaching of the Christian missionaries is not supposed to be free from bias about traditional Hindu manners and customs or religion. One other reason for this bias is the fact that English education began to spread (in Calcutta) only in the third decade of the past century. Newspapers appearing before the spread of English education were meant for Englishmen or Eurasians only. The Englishmen or Eurasians, as readers of newspapers, had orientation completely different from that of the English educated Indians. This peculiarity of the orientation of the readership was partly responsible for some of the newspapers carrying more news about England or the continent than about their place of origin. Some others, of course, carried local news, in the reporting of which the said bias was clearly evident. But bias itself is a fact of history and any information about preference and motivation is no less important to a student of history than a bare statistical figure.

The history of the last two centuries may be divided into several major branches—Economic, Social, Religious, and Political. For those interested in what is called "Background Study" or "History of thought" the branches may not be as clearly compartmentalised as we have done. Nevertheless, for every branch of history, or for background study, newspapers are of tremendous significance. For the student of Economic History, Government records, manuscripts in the Archives, Census reports, Gazetteers, and other statistical compendiums are of prime importance. But Records are mostly collection of data, and newspapers are the records of the immediate responses from different social groups or strata. The social behaviour, the motivation behind particular kinds of response to a given situation, is better reported in the newspapers than in any other possible source.

Newspapers have not been very much used by our scholars. Systematic study of modern Indian History with special emphasis on the 19th Century has not been organised for a long time. In the Twenties of this century some scholars showed their interest in old newspaper files, but it is only in the recent past that wide renewed interest in the field is evident among our scholars. A few works on Economic and Political history give us a reassuring

picture. Though all books on the subject have not made extensive use of these source materials, there are some which furnish ample evidence of the usefulness of the newspapers.

One of the reasons for this infrequent use of newspapers is lack of an index of the contents of these newspapers. Without an index, it is very difficult to use the newspapers, more particularly the dailies. A student has to devote the greatest part of his time (spent for working on a subject) to the scanning of newspapers. The *Catalogue of Periodicals, Newspapers and Gazettes* of the National Library contains bibliographical information only. It does not describe the nature of materials likely to be available. At present the Institute of Historical studies in its journal *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* is publishing an annotated bibliography of newspapers, detailing the nature of materials available in the newspapers which are likely to be useful to the scholars.

It is therefore imperative to prepare an index of the contents of the newspapers, without which study of history is likely to be reduced to an exhausting exercise of finding out facts from the semi-brittle news prints. The best way to demarcate between true research and journalism is to make it known that facts are important, not because of the time and labour spent in finding them out, but by virtue of their being facts of history.

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY

SIBADAS CHAUDHURI

THE Asiatic Society of Bengal has built up a rich library which contains varied source materials on what has been performed by man or produced by nature during the period under review, *i.e.* 16th to the 19th Centuries, on different branches of the history of India that have been covered by our speakers. I will say only a few words about the source materials contained in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society* regarding the beginning of scientific and humanistic studies in India, and the social, political and educational problems in the history of India. They have not yet been fully utilised. If we make a thorough search of these records (printed) we will find that they form a source for reconstructing history. As an instance I will refer to the discussions regarding the medium of instruction that were held 100 years ago in the Asiatic Society, about which few of us know anything but which is much agitating our society these days.

Being one of the oldest scientific institutions in the world, and the second oldest in the East, the Asiatic Society of Bengal may be said to have initiated scientific researches in India on Western lines. The Society's *Transactions* and *Journal* constituted the principal channels of communication for studies in

Mathematical and Physical Sciences (including meteorology, Tidal observations, Laws of storms, Electrical researches, etc.), Geology ; and in Mineralogy, Zoology, Botany (including Palaeo-Botany), Geography, Ethnology, Chemistry. Every branch of scientific activity in India owes its start to the Asiatic Society which made important and valuable contributions in every field.

For long years the Asiatic Society advised the Government on matters of scientific interest and it was the initial activities of the Asiatic Society in different branches of sciences that lay at the root of the foundation of the different Scientific Surveys ; *e.g.* the Trigonometrical Survey of India in 1818, the Geological Survey of India in 1851, Indian Meteorological Department in 1875.

From a glance through the pages of the *Proceedings* of the Society we may find that the modern development of museums and study of sciences and humanities really started with the arrival of Sir William Jones in India and the foundation of the Society. In the field of Language, Literature, and Philosophy it was made the earliest important contributions ; so also in History, Art and Archaeology, in Epigraphy, Palaeography and Numismatics. in Religion, Philosophy, and Folk-lore. History of these beginnings and achievements may be found in the *Proceedings* of the Society. *The Journal* and *Proceedings* also contain materials on the Land, Life, and Conditions of the People living in India and adjacent countries.

For this history of the 16th to the 19th Centuries there are contemporary records and memoirs such as printed by the Hakluyt Society. *Bibliotheca Indica Series* of the Asiatic Society, includes *Rajyas* Selection. *Siyar nemetakh.* There are diaries of Francis Buchanan Hamilton and Bishop Heber ; personal memoirs of military officers involved in the Revolt of 1857 ; files of *Census Reports* from the beginning ; *Proceedings of the School Book Society* ; Hunter's *Statistical account of Bengal and Assam* ; and Dow's *History of Hindusthan*, Elliott and Dowson's *History of India of the Mahomedan period* in English. In Bengali, *Mangal Kavyas* and *Chaitanya* literature will throw a flood of light on the history and geography of the period under our review.

Printed Catalogues of Sanskrit Manuscripts are source

material. Colophons of manuscripts supply authentic and important data on socio-economic and political conditions. They help us to find the date of rulers, as *aparimitayurnama mahayana sutra* (1640) and *svaymbhuchaityabhattarakoddesa* (1644) and *lalitavistara* (c. 1753) assists us in fixing the reigning period of the Pattamalladeva, Jayapratapamalladeva and Rajyaprakasamalladeva.

Similarly Catalogues of Persian Manuscripts throw light on similar subjects, in the Persian idiom. Examples are: Long's *Selection from the Records ; Selections from the Calcutta Gazette; Poona Residency Correspondence ; Calendar of Persian Correspondence ;* and *Dagh Register* (1624-82).

English language Journals and Records, such as *Friend of India, Government Records, Census Reports, Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta Christian Observer, Christian Intelligencer,* and *Bengal Almanac* are helpful.

At the present time in Calcutta, it has become popular to compile and print "Selections" from journals and newspapers. These are helpful, but such "Selections" are not the solution. For use by researchers they cannot serve the purpose. Every scholar must make his own selection according to his own needs. It is, rather the duty of the bibliographers to prepare multipurpose indexes. Perhaps republication of the entire series of several journals might also be encouraged. This would serve scholarship adequately.

BISHOP'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

IAN D. L. CLARK

Bishop's College was founded in 1820 by Bishop Thomas Middleton, first Anglican Bishop of Calcutta, for the training of clergy for service in India. The accent then, as now, was on scholarship at a post-graduate level (the College is affiliated to Serampore, and most students take the Serampore B.D.). Hence from the beginning the library was something more than a working collection of text-books: it was intended to provide facilities for research and further study. The first principal, W. H. Mill (1821-1841), and his staff were actively engaged in the study of Indian languages and the translation of the *Bible*, *Prayer Book*, and theological writings. At the same time they cooperated with the Serampore staff in the translation of Indian religious writings into English. In this work they used the resources of Bishop's College Press for printing not only completed works, but interim word-lists and working-texts for study and discussion.

SOURCES OF BOOKS

The Anglican missionary societies seem to have given generous gifts of theological books in the early days, and private

individuals (notably successive Metropolitans) have added to the collection from time to time. Principal Mill purchased a large number of books on the Continent, and seems to have planned a comprehensive collection dealing with all aspects of Orientalia. In the 1820s he was given on behalf of the College the collection of Tibetan and Burmese MSS acquired by Major Barre Latter of Bengal, after Latter's death; and purchased the books Major Latter had bought in Paris on the subject of Tibet and the neighbouring countries.

In 1947 the Bishop's College Library was augmented by a share of the dispersed St. Paul's Cathedral Library (the remainder going to Serampore and Oxford Mission).

It should be emphasised that the library is still in the process of excavation by Miss K. Diehl. Only a few days ago she unearthed two 18th Century Armenian MSS; and the same day I discovered a *Bengali and English Dictionary*, and *Bengali Psalter*, both printed at Bishop's College in the 1840s, and both on the ordinary working-shelves of the library. The books are in a poor state of preservation, and are deteriorating. Once at least in recent years they were nearly destroyed through ignorance of their value and importance to scholars. Only a very brief indication can here be given of the scope of the collection :

ORIENTAL LANGUAGES : *Dictionaries and Grammars :*

W. H. Mill, *Proposed versions of theological terms for translation into Sanskrit* (Bishop's College Press, 1829).

H. T. Colebrooke, *Grammar of the Sanskrit Language* (Calcutta, HEIC Press, 1805).

H. P. Forster, *Essay on the Principles of Sanskrit Grammar* (Calcutta, 1810).

Lulloo Lal Kuvi, *Khuree-Bolee and English vocabulary or Words occurring in the Prem Sagur* (Calcutta, 1810).

Carnatic Grammar (Madras, College Press, 1820).

Punjabi Dictionary (Lodiana, 1854).

Tamil/English Dictionary (Madras, 1834).

William Carey, *Telinga Grammar* (Serampore, 1814).

C. P. Brown, *Telegu Grammar* (Madras, 1840).

The earliest known Philippine dictionary by Ivan de Noceda, *Tegala Vocabulary* (1753).

Howison, *Grammar of the Malay Tongue* (London, 1800).

P. de Guignes, *Chinese, French, Latin Dictionary* (1813).

J. Klaproth, *Sprache und Schrift der Uiguren* (1820).

ORIENTAL LANGUAGES : *Translations and Versions :*

Singhalese *Old Testament* (3 volumes) (Colombo, 1820).

Marcandeya Purana (Bishop's College Press, 1862).

Bengali *Book of Common Prayer* (Bishop's College Press, 1840).

Two *Gospels* in Mongolian (St. Petersburg, n.d.) (Extremely valuable).

Gospels in Arabic and Latin (Rome, 1591)

Gregorian Calendar in Armenian (1584).

Book of Common Prayer in Persian (Calcutta, 1830).

TRAVELS IN ORIENT AND ORIENTALIA :

P. Bergeron, *Traité des Tartares* (Paris, 1634).

Wm. de Rubruqes, *Relation des Voyages en Tartaire* (Paris, 1634).

Johannem Nieuhovium, *Legatio Batavica ad magnum Tartariae* (Amsterdam, 1668).

Pere Tachard, S. J., *Second Voyage...de Siam* (Amsterdam, 1689).

J. Spon, *Voyage d'Italie.* (The Hague, 1724).

Dutch East India Co. *Receuil des Voyages* (Rouen, 1725).

Pere Villotte, S. J., *Voyage d'un Missionaire* (Paris, 1730).

Abbé de Choisy, *Journal d'un Voyage de Siam* (1741).

d'Argent. *Lettres Chinois* (The Hague, 1755).

M. Turpin, *Histoire civile et naturelle du Royaume de Siam* (Paris, 1771).

Jesuit Letters, *Nouvelles des missions orientales* (Liege and Amsterdam, 1797).

J. Reuilly, *Description du Thibet* (Paris, 1808)

de Guignes, *Voyage a Peking, Manille et l'Ile de France* (Paris, 1808).

J. Chardin. *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et autre lieux de l'orient* (Paris, 1811).

Capt. Golownin, R. N., *Narrative of my captivity in Japan* (1818).

Dissertation on the customs of the Hindoos (Paris, 1669).

Paulinus à St. Bartholomew, *Systema Brahmanicum* (Rome, 1796).

INDIAN AND ORIENTAL HISTORY :

C. *Lushington, History of the Religious, Benevolent and Charitable Institutions founded by the British in Calcutta* (Calcutta, 1824).

J. Michaud, *Histoire de progrés et de la chute de l'Empire de Mysore* (Paris, 1801-1809).

Notes relative to the late transactions in the Mahratta Empire (Calcutta, Fort William Press, 1805).

Wm. Taylor, *Oriental Historical Manuscripts in Tamil* (Madras, 1835).

Charlevoix, *Histoire de Japon* (Paris, 1754).

Athanasius Kircher, *China Monumentis* (1667).

Jesuit Letters (Paris, 1668).

de Guignes, *Histoire generale des Huns* (Paris 1756).

Charles le Gobien S. J., *Histoire des Iles Mariannes* (Paris, 1701).

Early Printing in India : The above examples indicate the richness of material for the study of the early presses in India. Amongst the material in the library are examples of some of the earliest known types in Indian languages, as the Telinga Grammar (1814). Some of these are wood-blocks, and some are founts of type.

The Latter Collection : Notice the original and (Photostat) copies of the catalogue prepared by Hara Prasad Shastri in 1915 at the request of the Government of West Bengal, and the important article by Fr. Felix, O. C. "Remarks on the Tibetan Manuscript Vocabularies in Bishop's College, Calcutta" in *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Volume VIII, No. 10, 1912.

Amongst the most important items are the *Burmese Golden Book* (1st century B.C.), Sanskrit MSS relating to the *Rig Veda,* the *Ganesha Puran* (one of three MSS in existence), and Jaina works ; as well as the large number of Tibetan works.

THREE PRIVATE LIBRARIES BELONGING TO CHRISTIAN INSTITUTION IN GREATER CALCUTTA :
CAREY LIBRARY (SERAMPORE COLLEGE), GOETHALS INDIAN LIBRARY (ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE), and THE OLD LIBRARY of BISHOP'S COLLEGE
A Comparison

KATHARINE SMITH DIEHL

HAVING had the unique opportunity of handling all the materials in the Carey Library and in the Bishop's College Old Library, plus a very large number of those at Goethals Indian Library, it is possible to make certain statements. I will speak about *categories* of books and journals, rather than of specific items.

The Carey Library

The Serampore Missionaries, Carey/Marshman/Ward, collected printed matter which was of professional use to themselves : and as their work here in Bengal was extended they added newly produced books.

LINGUISTICS—as grammars, dictionaries, alphabet books, and books printed in various languages—represent the extraordinary special interest of men who were intent on translating books from/into the languages of Europe/Asia. Personally I know that at least eighty languages and dialects are represented by books in this library : a record hard to achieve anywhere in the world. This means, of course, that the printed character is in virtually every instance the character proper to the idiom.

SACRED LITERATURES—the sacred texts of all the major religions of the world: Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Jain, Sikh, Parsee, Buddhist, Confucianist—are found, in various languages, various translations, and various printed characters.

PRINTING TECHNOLOGY—printers' manuals, alphabet books, technique of lithography, history of printing—represents a small but useful collection of the books then available (late 18th and early 19th century) concerning the art of printing and paper making.

SERAMPORE PUBLICATIONS—unfortunately not complete. The Fire, March 1812, destroyed the Office Library which included a specially bound copy of every item published up to that time at the Serampore Mission Press, or as sometimes called for secular work, Mission Press. Some of these early publications are available at Carey Library, most probably as second copies or as purchased or gift items from friends. Later publications, post-1812, are usually found.

OTHER INDIAN PUBLICATIONS—found in rather full supply. Reference to my inventory, *Early Indian Imprints* (New York, Scarecrow Press, 1964) will give the full collection as it was in 1962. Several—but just two or three—additional books have been received since.

SERAMPORE RECORDS—virtually nothing. A few bits of type, several pictures, but it can almost be said that NOTHING REMAINS of the MSS. and artifact category.

GENERAL BOOK COLLECTION—books *from Europe* related to Christianity and Christian Missions, collected works of Christian authors and ministers, histories of many parts of South and Eastern Asia: books *from Asia* related to Christian Missions, books published by "brother" Christian mission presses all over the world; and journals related to book reviewing, international literature and missions, as well as journals printed in South Asia. Nearly always these books or journals form a full sequence, or study of the matter; not isolated items.

PAMPHLETS—John Clark Marshman, Dr. Joshua Marshman's son who was intended as the successor senior missionary but who became a serious Bengali language and history scholar, received from Governor General William Bentinck the basis

of the Pamphlet Collection ; he added to it as pamphlets were advertised, published, or received. The *secular series* has recently been microfilmed by M. K. Chaudhuri (Focal Craft) of Calcutta, and a printed catalogue is being published. The *sermon series* will include other pamphlets, and microfilming has begun.

MANUSCRIPTS—*original* manuscripts are few : a small sample polyglot dictionary, and a five-volume manuscript *Sungskrit dictionary*, tremendous folio set. What is believed to be a Jerome Xavier MSS, and what is known to be a small MSS Chinese and Latin dictionary are also owned. But manuscripts, as such, are not a large portion of the library.

MANUSCRIPTS—*copies* of various Sanskrit and Bengali texts form an interesting shelf or two: written on Serampore paper, they are in perfect condition ; they form the basis on which the Missionaries did their several religious and literary studies.

LIBRARY CATALOGUE—Complete inventory was made in 1961-1962, this catalogue is available ; several book catalogues also available, including *Early Indian Imprints* (New York, 1964) ; the printed catalogue of the secular series of the pamphlets will be ready in August, 1968 ; a general catalogue of the Serampore College Library is in the General Library, but this is exclusive of the Carey Library collection.

STAFF—No permanent staff.

Goethals Indian Library

Collected by Archbishop Goethals between 1880 and 1900, by having European book dealers secure books related to Indian History and the History of Catholic *especially Jesuit* Missions in Asia, this Library is representative of the tremendous supply of fine books then available for purchase in major European citites.

JOURNALS—long runs of journals of the several Asiatic Societies, and their branches : Royal, Bengal, Bombay, Ceylon, South-East Archipelago, Japan, Paris ; and the literary journals from Meerut, Madras, Calcutta ; also the Catholic journals from Calcutta, Madras, London ; modern journals in these same categories : as *Bengal Past and Present*, etc., etc

CATHOLIC PUBLICATIONS—*Jesuit Relations*, bibliographies, bio-bibliographies, and journals related to or published in Asia (as *supra*). For some of these local publications the Library may have almost the only complete file ; and certainly for India this bibliography collection is distinctive.

GEOGRAPHY, TRAVEL, HISTORY—great quantity of the earliest botanies published about, or in, South Asia (*as* Rheede van Drakestein, Wight, Griffith, Wallich) ; travels include the *Jesuit Relations*, the reports of private and government agents abroad in Asia, and of organised research related to meteorology, port facilities, natural resources ; history is broadly conceived. My description of the histories is that, when I need to trace a footnote, I can find the original source in Goethals Library.

MEDICINE, LAW, ASTROLOGY—early Indian-printed medical books, sources related to Hindu and Muslim medicine, and botanies ; the law sources relate to Hindu and Muslim law, earliest translations, etc. made in Calcutta, as well as the Tagore Law Lectures ; Church law is of the two sorts : theological and interpersonal ; books of astrology are chiefly the translations of Asian texts, as printed by earliest linguists and mathematicians.

INDIAN PUBLICATIONS—about 100 items have been identified which are not found at the Carey Library ; also perhaps twenty-five that are held at both institutions. These have been specially listed ; a copy of the List may be found in the Office of the Librarian, Goethals Indian Library.

MANUSCRIPTS—MSS. of Father Henri Hosten's writtings, and copies of these in print, are at the Library. These are chiefly historical, and relate to the combination of Church and Indian history, up to about 1920.

LINGUISTICS—Sanskrit collection defined as very good. Not being competent to judge, I simply repeat the comment. MSS.—? ? Grammars, dictionaries, elementary language books—especially those which bear somewhat on Catholic Missions, missionaries, or books from the Propaganda Press and other European Catholic presses. There is really no intention to become strong in language studies.

ISLAMIC STUDIES—special collection, which I have not used up to the present time and am not competent to judge ; but I

would suggest that it is a segment worth careful study.

CATALOGUE--Book catalogue, by Subject; Card catalogue by Author.

LIBRARIAN--Rev. John Ehrlich, S. J., is General Librarian, full time.

The Old Library, at Bishop's College

In contrast to Carey and Goethals Libraries, which had been supplemented or purchased over a long period of years, the original materials at Bishop's College were apparently collected during a very brief period of time and represent European publications chiefly.

LINGUISTIC—primarily the early books in Latin, Greek, Syrian, Hebrew which are related to Eastern Christian Theology, or to classical education. However, these books are *early*, from 1550 onwards. Some Sinhalese, Tamil, Telugu, and Sanskrit Indian publications are here. Several early Armenian publications from Calcutta presses, and some MSS also.

ORIGINAL AND MANUSCRIPT SOURCES—chiefly Tibetan, the books collected by Major Barre Latter and given by his widow to the College. Includes a well-known Tibetan MSS dictionary. Some Armenian MSS due to presence of several Armenian students at the early College.

TRAVEL, HISTORY OF MIDDLE ASIA, ETC.—These books which had been bought by Major Barre Latter in Paris, shipped to Calcutta, were purchased by Principal Mill of Bishop's College. Chiefly in French, they relate to Major Latter's hobby, Tibetan studies (he knew the language), and were the first "mad" purchase of books for the College. The Levant and North Africa are also included in this general category.

EARLY EUROPEAN BOOKS—Approximately twenty-five books, dated 1550-1600 have been identified. All subjects: religion, language, history, travel. They represent the famous European presses of all countries, and the beautiful books of that half century.

EARLY INDIAN PUBLICATIONS—collection includes perhaps 100 items, and adds to the titles already noted at the first and second libraries *supra*. Bishop's College had its press, and there is a fair list of the College Press publications, including the Arme-

nian mentioned earlier. Notice, also, the Sinhalese *Old Testament*, and the *Book of Common Prayer* in Arabic, Persian, Bengali, Sinhalese.

CATALOGUE—the inventory has been completed in June 1968, a file by author and by shelf number is available.

STAFF—Dr. Ian Clark is in charge, part time only.

Commentary on the three libraries

Organised by Protestant, Anglican, and Jesuit Missionaries in that order chronologically, these three libraries represent entirely different subject matter ; and they contain complementary sources rather than duplicating sources. Goethals Indian Library is the largest, and the most adequately supported of the three : a very comfortable library room, a member of the Jesuit community in full charge of the entire library complex, and a literary heritage among the resident clergy and faculty.

Carey Library, next in the rank of proper facilities, has what is apparently a substantial room that is air-conditioned, but it lacks (completely lacks) personnel who are qualified to know anything at all about the books. The fact that a full inventory is available is certainly in its favour, but human assistance is absolutely lacking.

Old Bishop's College Library was interesting to me because each time I went there, I found something so exciting that I finally decided to make a complete inventory. More than two dozen books from European presses prior to 1600, a nice Tibetan collection in the French language, several fine bibliographies, some beautiful Lucknow early printing, several Bishop's College Press books—all made the exercise worth the effort. It is hoped that these books can be made more available in the near future.

These libraries balance each other, Goethals books are in best physical condition, Carey Library has most Early Indian Imprints and Bishop's College has the Tibetan sources. Journals are rarely duplicated—again a balance ; religious emphasis is also a balance. Each deserves to be used, and to be carefully supervised for serious readers.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY PROGRAMME

DES RAJ KALIA

ON behalf of the American Institute of Indian Studies, I welcome you to this Library Seminar. Our subject is "The Primary Printed Sources for Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century Studies Available in Bengal Libraries".

You are very senior archivists and librarians in the State of West Bengal. You know what you have as exactly as you know what you do not have. Another may have what you lack. Today we shall try to see the total resources and their adequacy.

Of the National Library, which I have the honour to look after at the moment, I have information. Of the situation in Bengal or the nation as a whole, I also have some information.

Our first problem is to save the literary text of our valuable resources. It would be treason to let them go waste. The National Library expects to have a large microfilming unit within two or three months' time, and we want to know what you wish to be microfilmed so that it may be done. Our plan is to start with printed materials, early printed records and early printed books. It seems wise to select subjects related to all-India as first priority, and resources related to Bengal studies as second priority.

At the Bengal State Archives, it has been possible to print only a portion of the records. The quantity not printed is so great that it would seem there is a very strong case for a complete microfilm unit at their disposal. Actually these pieces of photographic equipment cost far less than people think !

Individuals ask about *Xerox*. There is one machine in Delhi : *Insdoc* secured it some years ago. These *Xerox* machines are imported, and payment is made in the form of rent—over a period during which the user possesses the equipment. Several India-made *Xerox-type* copier are in use, and their utility requires investigation.

Concerning the physical care and maintenance of books, National Library has had several expert technicians for some years. Their function is care of the institutional books, but their technical skill has been shared. Occasionally persons have been deputed by other libraries to learn the craft. No degree is offered, but we do try to offer adequate training and practical experience. We welcome correspondence related to this programme, for this helps us use our facilities more completely and it certainly helps you conserve valuable books and papers. One of our present staff members is a full-time chemist, M.Sc., with a specialty in book preservation ; another officer has received training in book preservation in the United States.

Something all seem to face is preservation of original manuscript records and books while, at the same time, keeping them available for serious readers. The National Library will have an air-conditioning plant in operation from early October this year (1968). Our own collection belonging to this category is large and it must be housed in the air-conditioned section of the Library Annexe.

We could perhaps offer shelving space to other libraries : the books to remain their property and to be made available for consultation only to individuals whom they certify. Central location plus air-conditioning will serve in two ways : by saving the physical book, and by making it easily available to readers. These properties are not intended as an open-shelf collection. For that we plan an air-conditioned strong room into which access will be granted only to scholars whose credentials have been

carefully examined.

Experience has shown that books placed on open shelves and regularly dusted are not so much damaged by rats and insects as they would be if placed in closed cupboards. The rats and insects do not seem to like air, nor frequent disturbance caused by regular dusting.

Still another method of book treatment is fumigation. A large fumigation chamber with capacity of 2000 volumes is soon going to be installed at the National Library. We admit that some of our books, especially in the less-used sections, are insect contaminated. The large 2000 volume capacity of this unit means that we can take whole sections of our collection at one time, and thus discourage the movements of these little paper-eating creatures. It also means that within a reasonable time we will be able to disinfect our entire collection and that, as gifts arrive, they can be routinely cleansed before being shelved anywhere.

Numerous libraries are known to this audience : your own institutional collection and the various private, public, and association libraries which you have probably used. We at National Library are trying to do something about the total resources in Bengal and Orissa by the establishment of our National Union Catalogue Unit. Orissa has already been surveyed. Libraries are being surveyed to locate rare materials.

In Bengal we have surveyed the Asiatic Society and Uttarpara Libraries. About 6000 items have been examined, and several hundred of these indexed for incorporation in the National Union Catalogue. This work will continue until we complete the survey all over the country. Orissa has actually disappointed us. The libraries holding rare materials are less well maintained and we had to dig out useful items through the mass of materials poorly shelved.

Another aspect of the National Union Catalogue is under consideration. India is a large country. The National Library does not have money to use for travelling allowances. We are trying to get the cooperation of scholars, bibliographers, and librarians to asist on a part-time basis in this search for rare items. Payment would be pro-rated. For the initial records we

do not need complicated citations and descriptive cataloguing. Simple author/title/imprint, plus about fifteen words of description of the book's condition, is enough at this point. Our primary interest is to find actual titles in actual libraries of books published in India before 1850. We hope that in five years this may be done for Humanities and for Social Sciences. Then we shall stress other subjects.

Concerning these early pre-1850 publications. The survey will identify the books, their owners, their physical condition. Should an entire copy not be available in any one place, several partial copies may be pieced together, the whole microfilmed in order to secure a full copy. Fragile books, and this usually means that not one book—but the entire edition—was fragile, must be microfilmed and copies distributed.

This book census will require mutual cooperation among the National Library, part-time census takers, and owners of private collections. It is very possible that not every owner will part with his precious book ! But some will. Those who, it seems, will not make books accessible in a central place—or even give access to the library for survey purposes—may perhaps be persuaded for the sake of all readers. Through their willingness to share particularly important and rare books, research materials can become available to every scholar in India.

Our *Indian National Bibliography* is far behind publishing schedule. A computer has been called to do the current issue on an experimental basis. This computerised publication has cost no jobs, only two persons were involved in the operation and they have been assured there is more than enough for each to do. Actually what has been done by the computer could not have been done manually, we are so far behind ! The printed catalogues are years behind schedule, and the many entries to be set in types would require a hopeless amount of Government Press man-hours plus far more real cost.

Current Indian journals provide still another almost untouched aspect of librarianship. We have begun locating some of the rare back volumes of periodicals which we do not hold at present. One the bibliographical information is recorded and our microfilm equipment is available we will be able to send

a print to the reader. We may even consider translation of articles from Indic languages, along with microfilm copies of original text. Our first efforts will be restricted to English language articles, to Calcutta publications, and to the Humanities and Social Sciences. Thus, our effort at conservation of books and journals forms a concentration of subject interest and book availability. Our decision to restrict indexing to these subjects is part of a still larger all-India cooperative venture.

A certain amount of misunderstanding exists about our National Library possessions. People may think we have a copy of everything. That is far, far from being true. Our resources are certainly not adequate in virtually every subject and for virtually every period. In every form of material—manuscripts, records, print, journals—and in every language there are great gaps. Our first efforts must be to fill those gaps. We are beginning to hunt English language sources. We need monographs, newspapers, journals, gazettes, and government documents.

I have already mentioned sharing materials for the sake of security of the material objects. Now I mention it as a means of enlarging facilities in our several libraries. The idea is a Book Exchange. Let National Library share its not-needed copy of some early Indian publication with a library requiring it, and in return receive a book required at Belvedere. A newsletter describing this plan is proposed to be issued shortly, with a list of "Wanted titles". This will be a short-title list only, and of the very old material : 18th and 19th Century publications. It may become necessary to purchase some things, especially where the books offered in exchange have very uneven values.

To fully implement the Book Exchange it is necessary to know the names of libraries and of individual book owners. The survey preparatory to a published directory which Shri Kunal Sinha [vide] has been making is essential, but he cannot do it alone. Perhaps we might have an informal Committee to be composed of persons interested in library resources.

These are the aspects of librarianship which at present press hard on us at National Library. I want you to know that aspects of librarianship which are problems to you, are our problems as well. Wherever it is possible I want to help, whether with

our actual facilities or with our influence. We each have much work at our own institutions, but it seems from the papers presented that there is a great deal of unanimity even in the kinds of problems. That may make their solution more rapid than we could have believed this very morning. The most pressing solution must come first : saving our valuable book collections.

UTTARPARA JAIKRISHNA PUBLIC LIBRARY

TARUN KUMAR MITRA

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

THE subject of today's Seminar is "The Primary Printed Sources for Sixteenth to Nineteenth (16 to 19th) Century Studies Available in Bengal Libraries."

In course of my discussion I shall try to give you a summary of my experience at the Uttarpara Jaikrishna Public Library and naturally keep within the scope and range of collections belonging to the same Library.

Uttarpara Jaikrishna Public Library was founded in 1859 as a free public circulating library through the munificence of a philanthropic zamindar of Uttarpara named Jaikrishna Mukherjee. Its formed name was Uttarpara Public Library.

I must try to give you some idea about the immensely rich collection of research materials for the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century studies that we have got here. The Printed sources for our subject of studies include such items as Records of East India Company: Gazettes; Periodicals; Law Reports; Parliamentary debates; Almanacs; Directories; Gazetteers; Reports of different commissions appointed on

different occasions; Historical and Religious Tracts; Transactions of Social, Political, Commercial, Religious, Learned, Scientific, and Medical associations; Letters—Private and Official; Despatches of Governors and Viceroys; Biographies and Autobiographies; Diaries, and Personal Memoirs; Anecdotes; Early Historical works; Travel accounts; Original Literary works; Dictionaries; and Early Bengali publications on all subjects. Materials for Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century studies, and particularly Nineteenth Century, dominate the collection. According to some scholars so far as Nineteenth Century is concerned the collection of this library is even richer than that of India Office Library in London. Certainly we may even say that any Nineteenth Century study will remain incomplete if the collections of Uttarpara Public Library are not taken into account.

During the last one century and a decade numerous scholars from this state, this country and from abroad drew upon this library for their research works. From the available data of materials used by them a conspicuous change is visible in the scholarly trends, attitude, and selection of subjects. In the 11th edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* it was mentioned that "Uttarpara Public Library is particularly rich about books on local topography". These materials were of such quality, quantity and variety that Sir William Hunter preferred to call it a treasure house instead of a mere library. Sir William was largely indebted for the materials of his *Imperial Gazetteer, Statistical Account* and such other works to this Library. Records also bear witness that Nagendranath Bose regularly used this library while he was working on his *Visvakosa.* The possibility of production of such monumental works through individual efforts has perhaps become impossible. But what is significant is the shift in attitude amongst the scholars. Original and individual thinking has replaced greatly the fact gathering, data collecting and omnivorous knowledge-ionsuming trends. The number of scholars devoted to studies of different aspects of Bengali literature far out number scholars working on other subjects. Naturally the collection of early, mid, and late Nineteenth Century Bengali literature is used chiefly by the scholars. Experience also shows that the standard of scholarship is being affected by the medio-

crity. I have found not a few scholars reluctant to go deep into their studies or to take a thorough and comprehensive account of materials available for their studies.

The next place in the *use index* is occupied by students of history relating to the political and military history of the early British Period. I have already mentioned about the immense material this library contains on any aspect of history of the early British period. Apart from political information these works contain an enormous amount of information relating to the socio-economic condition of the people, their changing faiths, their envisaging new dimensions of thought, and a vivid account of how they actually lived. For such studies these publications are now rarely used.

The most neglected collections of the library are the Directories, Almanacs, Law Reports, Parliamentary debates, Travelogues, Dictionaries, Geographical accounts, Religious works published by the Missionaries, early Bengali publications on other subjects than Literature and the Gazettes. Of these the Law Reports are the most important. These contain a vast amount of social, political, religious, historical, economic information. Not only do these supply a very genuine and dependable account of the contemporary state of affairs but they also give a clear pen picture of contemporary society as a whole. I will name a few which will convey an idea of the information contained. Moulavi Mohammed Bakir's *Notices in Zilla Courts of Bengal*, 1833 ; Ramachandra Palit's *The Great Contempt Case*, 1883 ; *Reports of the Cases of Queen vs. Mahesh Chandra Chatterji of Durgapur Factory, Nudia*, 1865 ; *Sudder Adawlaut decisions against the heirs of Naderah Begom*, 1827 : *Trials of Doo Doo Mia and others*, 1874.

The first hand account given by the foreigners about the contemporary condition of the country and the people are also seldom used. It is amusing to note that, while the accounts left by the travellers in Ancient India are so much valued as source materials for the study of contemporary history, the accounts left by the 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries travellers, merchants, civilians and military personages are now being totally neglected. Bias, hate, prejudice and bigotry might have

vitiated some of these accounts yet their importance as source materials for the study of contemporary times cannot be exaggerated.

The total amount of published materials important for Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century studies is very large. A vast amount of this material has already become lost to us at Uttarpara. The problems of preservation is very great. The climate of Bengal is not at all favourable for the preservation of old books, rather it is harmful to them. But *experience shows that the books kept on open racks have survived the attack by book worms* if not white ants. *Maximum damage has been done by the book worms to books kept in the closed almirahs.* Pages of most of the old publications have become extremely brittle, and require very careful handling. It has been found from experience also that cheap quality of binding also damages these old books. Cross stitch and hem stitch render the old pages vulnerable to separation from the place of the stitches. Unfortunately very few scholars have been found to handle these books with the needed care. A large number of books have suffered mutilation by the scholars themselves. Unless good sense prevails, these unfortunate volumes will never remain safe from this danger.

And at the root of all these lies a lack of proper realisation of the immense importance of these materials ; inadequate funds ; and no organised or systematic efforts and programmes to preserve them. A vast number of these materials are lying scattered over the State of West Bengal in very poorly equipped libraries and private collections. I know of some such collections which are now rapidly undergoing a process of ruination. For lack of coordinated bibliographical work a vast amount of materials are remaining lost to the sight of the scholars despite their existence. As a result scholars must hunt from place to place blindly in search of their required materials, wasting time, energy, and money.

To save time, energy, and money I suggest therefore to take up a programme for preparation of a Union Catalogue of all materials which come under the purview of our today's discussion.

For preservation, libraries already having a considerable number of such books should be selected and provided with minimum required funds not only to preserve the existing materials properly but also to collect such materials from other sources. The muniment rooms of some such libraries should be air conditioned, and the research facilities should be placed inside.

And finally library associations, big Government Libraries, and particularly the National Library, should take as their duty to provide expert advice and help wherever necessary to the ill-equipped libraries and to private collectors.

Big libraries should also be provided with facilities to get these publications which are most used microfilmed. This will save the original ones.

The National Library and other big Government Libraries should also help libraries with small means to get these publications properly bound. I think particularly this last measure will help to save a large number of important publications from the ravages by time and climate.

Thank you Mr. President; Ladies and Gentlemen.

THE WEST BENGAL STATE ARCHIVES

NITAI CHAND SARKAR

I AM really grateful to the authorities of the American Institute of Indian Studies for having given me the opportunity of participating in this Seminar on behalf of the State Archives of West Bengal. I find that the subject matter of the Seminar is "The Primary Printed Sources for Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century studies available in Bengal Libraries." In the first place, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the Institution I represent, is not a library in the technical sense of the term. It is the Archives of the State Government where are housed and preserved the Records and Archives which have been created in course of the day to day administrative business of the country. These are indeed primary source materials for historical studies, but only a portion is printed while the rest is in manuscript. During the earlier decades of the present century a scheme had been undertaken to have some of the important series of these Manuscript records printed, and to bring out selections of others. The scheme worked for some time quite well but ultimately it was dropped. Had the scheme been pursued in right earnest until now a large portion of these vast manuscript resources might have been printed.

But whether printed or not, the archival materials preserved in the West Bengal State Archives have been regarded by eminent scholars of international repute as the finest historical materials ever produced in the world, especially for writing the Socio-Economic History of India during the 18th and 19th Centuries. A discussion on these source materials will, therefore, not be out of place.

It is not possible to give here a detailed account of the entire archival holdings of the State Records Repository. A brief summary will therefore be attempted.

The Records and Archives preserved in the West Bengal State Archives may be grouped under three distinct periods, viz., Pre-Mutiny or East India Company's period (from 1758 to 1858) ; Post-Mutiny or the Crown period (from 1859 to 14th August. 1947) ; and Post-Independence period (from 15th August, 1947 onwards).

PRE-MUTINY

At first I shall deal with the Records of the Pre-Mutiny period, i.e., the Records created by the East India Company during their administration in India. In the early days of the Company the factories "in the Bay" were dependent on Fort St. George in Madras. We have to depend on Madras for records throughout the 17th Century. For the first half of the 18th Century, when Bengal was independent of Madras, there is no record extant owing to the destruction during the sack of Calcutta in 1756. The only records of the Fifties of the 18th Century, preserved in the West Bengal State Archives, are some stray proceedings of the Select Committee for the year 1758, these have been collected and printed. There are also some stray proceedings of the Select Committee for the years 1766, 1767, and 1770. These are fragmentary records, more complete records of this period are available in the National Archives of India, New Delhi. A *Calendar of the Records of the Select Committee* has been prepared by the State Government.

Although the records relating to the British Political extension in India are not available in the State Archives, yet we have the revenue and judicial records of a considerable part of India. In them can be seen the beginnings of the British Revenue

Administration: first of all in the 24-Parganas and in the ceded districts of Midnapore, Burdwan, and Chittagong; then the extension all over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa when the Company obtained the grant of Dewani in 1765 ; and then when it "stood forth as Dewan" in 1771. Also we have the early records for the land settlements and judicial administration in the United Provinces as well as in Assam. We have the early judicial records which sprang from the revenue administration and have not been taken by the Government of India. It may be stated in this connexion that up to 1834, the *Records of the Government of India* and the *Records of the Government of Bengal* were identical, as the Governor General at Fort William had paramount jurisdiction over other Presidencies. In 1843 the Records of Government of India were separated from the Records of Government of Bengal. But the revenue and judicial records from the earliest period up to 1834 were not taken away by the Government of India: they were allowed to remain in the custody of the Government of Bengal.

The Records of this period (i.e., from 1758 to 1858) may be grouped under four categories, viz., Records of the Supreme Authorities, i.e., the Departments of Government; Records of the Intermediate Authorities; General letters to and from the Court of Directors; and Miscellaneous Records.

The Records of the following Supreme Authorities are preserved in the West Bengal Archives:

- Select Committee (1758, and 1766-70).
- Comptrolling Committee of Revenue (1771-72).
- Committee of Circuit (1772-73).
- The President and Council of Revenue, or The Revenue Board consisting of the whole Council (1772-74).
- Revenue Department (1775-1815): Governor General in Council with its different branches, viz., Revenue, Sayer, Wards, Grain, Mint, Khalsa, Tea Committee.
- Territorial Revenue Department (1815-34).
- Revenue Department: Governor of Bengal (1834-54).
- Revenue Department: Lieutenant Governor of Bengal (1854-58).

Separate Revenue Department (1834-1852).
Miscellaneous Revenue Department (1828-41) and (1853-58).
Judicial Department (1793-1858).
General Department (1834-58).
Ecclesiastical Department (1834-58).
Education Department (1842-58).
Political Department (1834-58).
Financial Department (1857, January to October).
Public Works Department (1854-58).
Marine Department (1838-58).

The following are the Intermediate and Subordinate Authorities whose records of the periods mentioned are available in the West Bengal Archives:

Resident at the Durbar (1769-70 and 1772-74).
Comptrolling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad (July 1770 to September 1772).
Chief and Council at Patna (1765-66).
Comptrolling Council of Revenue at Patna (1770-73).
Provincial Council of Revenue (1773-81) at Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad, Dinajpur, Patna, and Burdwan.
Committee of Revenue (1781-1858).
Board of Revenue (1786-1858).
Controlling Committee of Commerce (1771-73).
Board of Customs (1783).
Board of Trade (1774-1835).
Board of Customs, Salt and Opium (1819-1850).
Board of Commissioners, Ceded Provinces (1802-3).
Board of Revenue, Ceded and Conquered Provinces (1803-19).
Board of Commissioners, Ceded and Conquered Provinces (1807-22).
Commissioner in Bihar and Benares (1816-17).
Board of Commissioners in Bihar and Benares (1818-22).
Board of Revenue, Central Provinces (1822-29).
Superintendent of the Khalsa (1772-74).
Superintendent of the Khalsa Records (1775-81).
Preparer of Reports for the Revenue Department (1781-93).
Commission of Law Suits (1777-79).

The Committee of Grain (1783-85).

The Grain Office, or Clerk and Inspector of Public Granaries (1795-1803).

Presidency Committee of Records (1820-29).

Special Commissioners under Regulation II of 1819 and III of 1828 (1829-53).

Presidency Commissioner, Sunderban Records (1828-1858).

Tea Committee (1834-40).

Controller of Surveys (1851-55).

Comptroller of Salt and Collector of the Salt Districts (1783-92).

Superintendent of the Salt Chauki Calcutta (1831-1858), and Controller of Salt Chaukis (1846-58).

General Committee of Public Instruction (1823-1842).

General Committee of the Fever Hospital and Municipal Improvement (1835-49).

Railway Commission (1850-57).

Reporter of External Commerce (1796-1858).

This Officer was appointed by the Governor General in Council under Public Department letter of the 13th June, 1796, but no copies of his reports have been preserved here. We have one volume of his correspondence (1802-19). There was a similar Officer at Madras ; some copies of his reports are available.

A history of the growth and development of these various administrative authorities is essential for the proper understanding and evaluation of the Records created by them. But the time at our disposal is too short for the purpose. It may be discussed in another seminar like this.

The Records of the Supreme Authorities and those of the Intermediate and Subordinate Authorities referred to above are interlinked and should therefore be studied together. Especially the Revenue Records are quite dependent upon one another. Hence the scholars going through the Records of the Revenue Department have found it indispensable to study the Records of the Board of Revenue. Among the records of the Supreme Authorities and Intermediate Authorities, the Revenue and Judicial Records have been very extensively used. It should

however be remembered in this connection that the Commercial Records of the East India Company are no less important from the research point of view. An intensive study of these records is essential if one attempts to write the economic history of the country during the 18th and 19th Centuries.

Let us now proceed to deal with the other two sections of the Pre-Mutiny Records in the custody of the State Government, viz., General Letters to and from the Court of Directors; and Miscellaneous Records.

The *General Letters to* and *from the Court of Directors in London* form a very important series in the West Bengal State Archives. In the *Letters to the Court of Directors* the Company's Government in India discussed all the problems of Indian Administration in all its departments, suggesting ways and means of solution, for the approval of the Court. In the *Letters from the Court* the Court of Directors formulated their policies in the light of information received from India; and then despatched them to India for implementation. Thus the entire British Policy in India can be traced from these General Letters. In the words of James Grant Duff there are "probably the finest historical materials in the World." The series of General Letters relating to Public, Secret, Foreign, Political, and Military Departments are in the National Archives of India, New Delhi. In the West Bengal Archives are preserved the Letters relating to Revenue, Judicial, Ecclesiastical, Railway, Public Works, and Commercial Departments.

The last but not the least in importance are the Miscellaneous Records of the Pre-Mutiny Period. These Records are a part and parcel of the main series of Records of the Supreme and Subordinate Authorities. Various Proceedings, Reports, Accounts, Registers relating to lands and land revenue, different Settlement Accounts, Drafts and Circular Orders passed by different Departments from time to time and Miscellaneous Correspondence etc., are to be found.

POST-MUTINY

Now about the Records of the Post-Mutiny period, or the Crown period from 1859 to 1947. With the taking over of the

Indian administration by the British Crown in 1859, Governmental activities increased. Many new Departments were added to the existing ones. As a result of this, huge quantities of records began to come into existence day after day, the preservation of which presented a serious problem to the Government. It was decided to classify the records into different categories according to their importance. Thus *A* and *B Proceedings* came into existence. The method of record keeping was also thoroughly changed. The Records of the Pre-Mutiny period have come down to us in the form of original Consultations and Proceedings volumes. Besides there are annual Indexes to the important series of records, and Registers of letters received and issued.

The records of the Post-Mutiny Period are arranged and classified in a different way. From January 1859 to March 1860 the Proceedings are in a series of weekly Consultations as are the Records of the Pre-Mutiny period. Since April 1860, a file system has been introduced. The Proceedings are in monthly series and, as already stated above, a distinction is made between *A* and *B Proceedings* in accordance with their relative importance. All *A Proceedings* and important *B Proceedings* are printed. These are to be preserved permanently. The *B Proceedings* are kept in separate bundles which contain only those that are to be preserved after weeding out unimportant Proceedings according to the "Rules for the preservation and destruction of Records". The *Proceedings* volumes which contain copies of *A Proceedings* and abstracts of *B Proceedings* with their Indexes are also printed. They are monthly from January 1859 to December 1923, and quarterly from 1924 onwards.

In spite of the periodical destruction of unimportant records according to the principles referred to above, a huge quantity of the records of the various Departments of the Secretariat has accumulated in the State Archives. It may be noted in this connection that so far as the Pre-Mutiny Period is concerned all the records of the Supreme Authorities and of the Intermediate and Subordinate Authorities have found place in the State Archives. As regards Post-Mutiny period the records only of the Secretariat Department are being preserved in the State Archives. The records of the Directorates and Regional Officers which are but

the new forms of the Intermediate and Subordinate Authorities of the Pre-Mutiny period are now taken over by the State Archives for preservation, and kept by them.

It has already been pointed out that from the point of view of historical research the Records of the Intermediate and Subordinate Authorities are as important as the records of the Supreme Authorities. Similarly the Records of the Directorates and Regional Offices are as important as the Secretariat Records. If we are to do justice to the research scholars and historians of the future these records should also be concentrated and preserved in the State Archival Repository. It is a pity that they are being allowed to waste away in utter neglect in some dark, dingy and dusty Record Rooms of the Directorates and Regional Offices. Up till now little attention has been paid to the Records of the Post-Mutiny Period. Most scholars have confined their research within the limits of the Pre-Mutiny Period. Hence the importance of the Post-Mutiny records has not been fully assessed.

POST-INDEPENDENCE

There is not much to be said as yet about the records of the Post-Independence Period. These are of the same nature as their predecessors. Besides most of the Secretariat Departments have not yet transferred their records to the State Archives for preservation and maintenance. The present collection of records in the State Archives is not inconsiderable. The total number of *Proceedings volumes* in the State Archives is about 46,000; and total number of *Record Bundles* is about 87,000.

As regards the condition of these historical material preserved in the State Archives of West Bengal I should like to say that the State Government is trying, as far as possible within its limited resources, to preserve the Records in original. But in consideration of the huge quantity of Records the preservation measures are quite insufficient. The Paper Records created as far back as 1770 have naturally become very brittle, although the paper used in these days for record making purposes was far superior in quality to the papers now being used by the Government.

This leads us to the consideration of the problems facing the State Archives. It has already been pointed out that "accommodation" is perhaps the biggest archival problem all over the world. Records created by Government and other agencies are all very important from the point of view of historical research, as these written materials are likely to throw in some way or other abundant light upon the dark corners of the age they represent. It was perhaps some such consideration that inspired the India Government to order that none of the Pre-Mutiny historical Records should be destroyed. But the problem is how to provide accommodation to the enormous quantities of records that are being created every day. It seems an almost impossible task, hence perhaps the decision to weed out all unimportant records. But even this weeding does not solve the problem. What remains for permanent preservation after destruction is stupendous.

There comes the problem of repairing the documents. Within their limited resources the State Government has appointed fourteen members and three binders to repair the documents and rebind the proceedings volumes. But the paper is so rapidly deteriorating that it is impossible for these few workers to check this disintegration. Unless a large number of technical hands is appointed to cope with this job and up-to-date scientific methods of repairing, by means of laminating press, are introduced it will be very difficult to preserve the original documents. This brings in the question of foreign currency which is not being available now for importing such repair materials as cellulose acetate foil, tissue papers, etc. Over and above this there is the universal apathy of the administrative authorities towards these valuable things about which they have got very little understanding. The critical financial problems of the Archives of West Bengal are compounded by this apathy.

COLLECTIONS OF RARE BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS IN BENGAL LIBRARIES

KUNAL SINHA

THERE are many libraries with precious and rare books and journals, scattered in different parts of West Bengal. With scarcely any arrangement for preservation the treasures of many of these libraries are fast mouldering. *No other state in India can possibly claim to have such enormous number of libraries possessing rare books and journals as West Bengal.* It was a fashion of the Bengal Zamindars to maintain private collections of books. Reputed scholars also possessed large private libraries. Many such libraries were rich in of manuscripts. Books from a few of these libraries were given over to the Universities of Burdwan, Calcutta, and Jadavpur. Many others were donated to the National Library and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Library.

But this is not all. There are still numerous libraries, both public and private, in different parts of West Bengal containing rare books and journals of which little is known to the Calcutta scholars. I have started compiling a handbook of these libraries with the intention of drawing the attention of readers and research scholars to these rare books and journals. But with my slender financial resources, and very limited time for this kind of work, this project will take a long time to complete.

The Library Movement in Bengal started with the establishment of the library of the Asiatic Society. Gradually the libraries of Sibpur Botanical Gardens, Fort William College (1800), Hindu College (1817), Sanskrit College (1824) were established. Prior to 1850 there was rarely any public libraries in Bengal. Most of them belonged to institutions or to private individuals. After 1851 numerous public libraries began to develop in different parts of Bengal. It was during this time that Uttarpara Public Library and Konnagor Public Library were established. Of course, the first public library of Bengal was the Calcutta Public Library which was founded in 1836. During the administration of Lord Curzon the Calcutta Public Library was re-established in 1891 by uniting all the Secretariat Libraries, and was the responsibility of the Officer-in-charge of Records. The new name for the combined libraries was Imperial Library and it was formally opened to the public in 1903. After independence in 1947, Imperial Library was renamed. The National Library of India. It contained most of the books of the Fort William College Library and a fairly large number of documents and books published by the Government of India from 17th to the 19th Centuries. The National Library is undoubtedly the most important Indian storehouse of primary printed sources in the English language.

The Newspaper Section of the National Library is very rich. In the Western countries, it is said, the old newspapers are sparingly used as sources of history: but scholars in India find them immensely useful. Unfortunately not all newspapers are available in one place. One of the most important newspapers of the 19th Century was *Somprokash* which was edited and published by Dwarakanath Vidyabhusan. Eleven volumes of this newspaper will be found in the Vidyabhusan Library of Subhasgram, a village only six miles south of Calcutta. Four other volumes are in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Library, Calcutta. Two or three volumes more are in the Uttarpara Library, Uttarpara. Full details of the ***Vidyabhusan Granthagar*** can be found in an article published by me in the Bengali periodical *Granthagar*, Volume 16, No. 11, 1373 (B.S.). Shree Benoy Kumar Ghosh has undoubtedly done a good service to the scholars

by publishing recently almost all the articles and news items from *Somprokash*.

Another very important newspaper can be found in the Pravartak Sangha, Chandernagar. Here copies of *Bandemataram*, a daily published between 1906 and 1910, are preserved. In this way the source materials are scattered all over the state and scholars all over the state and over the world are not aware of the availability of these research materials.

While the National Library is rich in rare books and journals mostly written in English, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Library is rich in Bengali newspapers and journals. Some of them like the *Digdarshan, Samachar Darpan, Sambad Prabhakar, Sambad Bhaskar, Tattabodhini Patrika, Sarvasubhakari Patrika, Bibidhartha Sangraha, Sulav Samachar, Bamabodhini Patrika, Bangamahila, Bangadharshan, Natya Mandir, Tattva Kaumudi* are worth mentioning. The *Bamabodhini Patrika* and *Bangamahila* dealt mainly with the womenfolk of Bengal. *Natya Mandir* was a monthly journal on Bengali theatre. English magazines like *The Bengal Magazine, Bengal Academy of Literature, New Dispensation* are available in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Library. *Udanda Martanda*, the first Hindi magazine published from Bengal in 1826 is also available in the Sahitya Parishad Library. It may be mentioned that several copies of 19th Century Bengali journals like *Bhramar*, edited by Sanjibchandra Chattapodhyaya, *Panchapushpa*, edited by Amulya Charan Vidyabhusan, and *Prachar*, edited by Rakhaldas Bandyopadhya are available in the Rishi Bankim Library, Naihati, 24-Parganas.

Several other important libraries are scattered in different parts of West Bengal. In the Murshidabad district alone there are about fourteen public and private libraries where a fairly large number of important books, journals, and manuscripts are available. The most important amongst the libraries of the Murshidabad District is the Nizamat Palace Library. The Palace, known as the Hazarduari Palace, was built by Humayun Zah, a descendant of Mirzafar, in 1837. There are about 5,000 English books and periodicals in the Nizamat Library. Books written in Indo-Asian languages are 4,000 in number. The English books are mainly on subjects like Religion, History, Geography, Topo-

graphy, Description and Travel, Literature, and Science. There is a list of books written in Indo-Asian languages. According to this list there are seventeen manuscript *Korans* in the Library and numerous books on Shia Theology mostly written in Persian. There are two copies of *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnamah*. Among the many Persian books are 158 books on Astronomy, 125 dictionaries, 660 books and manuscripts on Literature, and 375 books on History. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who paid a visit to this Library on the 15th March, 1954, wrote that the main interest was its collection of Persian manuscripts and books on Shia Theology. He suggested that a scholar well-versed in Shia Theology be sent to Murshidabad to explore the collection of this Library. This was never done. The contents are fast mouldering. The Library now is in charge of a librarian whose monthly salary is Rs. 68/- and there is a peon who gets Rs. 15/- per month. Naturally you can well imagine how things are managed there. The Library, which belongs to the present Nababs of Murshidabad, is strictly a private library. Research scholars intending to use it are to seek special permission from the special officer of the Nizamat Estate, Mr. S. P. Mukherjee. A brief account of the Nizamat Library and several other libraries will be appeared shortly in *Itihas*, a quarterly published by the Calcutta Historical Society.

Another important library of the Murshidabad district is the Lalgola Raj Library. This originally contained the entire collection of the Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar Library, and still possesses a part of the same. A large number of books of the Vidyasagar Collection were handed over to the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Library, Calcutta. It is still rich in its collection of Sanskrit books, however.

Yet another famous library in West Bengal is the Uttarpara Public Library, established in 1857 only twenty years after the Nizamat Library. The Uttarpara Public Library is quite unique in its collection of books on Indian history. Sir William Hunter wrote in the preface to the second edition of his *Gazetteers* that

> Special acknowledgement was due to Babu Joykissen Mukherjee for the use of his large and excellent library at Uttarpara in Hooghly district. The facilities afforded

> by the unique storehouse of local literature, alike in English and vernacular tongues, have materially aided in the verification of statements, avoidance of errors and addition of new facts.

The following important periodicals, dissertation and newspapers are in the Uttarpara Public Library. The *Bibidhartha Sangraha* (1775-1782), *Arya Darshan*, *Bangadarshan*, *Asiatic Journal* (1816-), *British Review* (1811-), *Government Gazette in Bengal* (1840-1897), *Gazette of India* (1871-1922), *Calcutta Gazette* (1854-1953), *Asiatic Annual Register*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, *East India Tracts* (twelve issues), and *Calcutta Monthly Journal*.

Further details in regard to the Uttarpara Public Library may be obtained from the article published by me in *Itihas*, Volume 2, No. 3, 1374 (B.S.).

During my survey of the private libraries in West Bengal, I face a queer problem. In many cases the attitude of the owners is peculiarly evasive. It is difficult to secure permission for entry into the libraries and most of them are exclusively in the charge of a peon whose monthly salary is scarcely more than Rs. 20/-.

I wrote, several months back, a letter to Prof. S. R. Ranganathan, stating the deplorable condition of the rare books and journals available in Bengal libraries. In reply, he wrote to me on 21st March, 1968,

> I remember that some years ago I saw in the Uttarpara Public Library the earliest issues of the *Annual Report of the Director of Public Instruction*. They cannot be of any use in that library. The State Librarian should negotiate with that library, transfer them to the State Central Library, preserve them and make them available to the occasional research workers.
>
> This is but an example. The State Librarian should do similarly with every other library.

This is undoubtedly a good suggestion. But owners of many private collections may not be willing to part with their possessions. Hence we can think of another way out. A Union Catalogue of all the rare books and journals should be kept in the National Library for the use of research scholars. When

necessary, books should be brought over to the National Library by post and returned to the owner library when the work with it is completed. But the cheapest and the best way to meet the needs of all the research scholars is to microfilm the printed sources available in the distant libraries and preserve the microfilm copies of the same in the National Library or the State Central Library.

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

CHAKRAVORTY, Ananta Kumar. B.A., M.A., and Diploma in Librarianship from Calcutta University. Librarian, West Bengal Secretariat Library; author of articles in library magazines, and of some radio talks concerning libraries. General interest in Bengali Literature; professional interest in Library Administration and Cataloguing.

CHATTERJEE, Nakul. B.A., and both Certificate and Diploma in Librarianship from Calcutta University. Technical Assistant, National Library; author of several Bengali works: *Tin sataker Kolkata* (Calcutta through three centuries) 1966; *Cirakumari sabha* (Fiction on spinsters' society of Calcutta) in press; *Tin chai noi, by Bimal Mitra*, ed., 1966; *Je katha cala haini, by Salajananda Mukherji*, ed.. 1968; and in English, "History of the press and journalism in India, A select bibliography" in S. P. Sen's *Press in India*, 1968. Specialised interest in 18th and 19th Century Social History of Bengal, with special reference to Calcutta.

CHATTERJI, Suniti Kumar. M.A., from Calcutta University;

D. Litt. from London University; honorary degrees in D. Litt. from Rome, Delhi, Visva-Bharati, and Rabindra-Bharati Universities. National Professor of India in Humanities : a life-long honour given by the Government of India to retired scholars whose contribution to academic society is significant, with a stipend adequate for continuation of research. Author of ***Origin and Development of the Bengali Language ; Indo-Aryan and Hindi ; Africanism ; Indianism ; Balts and Aryans*** (in addition to Bengali and Hindi publications). Specialty interest in Linguistics, and History & Culture.

CHAUDHURI, Sibadas. M.A., and Diploma in Librarianship from Calcutta University. Librarian of the Asiatic Society; author of several bibliographies and indexes: ***Bibliography of Indological Studies in 1953***, also ***in 1955***, 1958 & 1967 : ***Bibliography of Studies in Indian Epigraphy, 1926-50***, 1965 ; ***Select Bibliography on the People of the North Eastern Frontier of India***, 1954 ; ***Index Indo-Asiaticus : A quarterly***, 1968- ; ***Index to the Publications of the Asiatic Society 1788-1953, Vol. I, Parts 1 & 2***, 1956, 1959.

CLARK, Ian D. L. M.A., and Ph.D., from Cambridge : Diploma in Theology, from Oxford. Lecturer and Librarian of Bishop's College. Subject interest is Ecclesiastical History.

DIEHL, Katharine Smith. M.A., (Advanced).
For further information *see* the final Biographical Index in this volume, Bihar Seminar.

GHOSE, Benoy. M.A., Calcutta University. Independent research and writing. Publications, chiefly in Bengali, are ***Paschim bangar sanskriti*** (received the West Bengal Government Rabindra Award) · ***Vidyasagar-o-bangali samaj ; Samayik-patray banglar samajchitra ; Derozio ; Vidyasagar***, etc. Chiefly interested in Bengal's social and cultural history.

KALIA, Des Raj. M.A., in Economics, from Punjab University.

LL.B. from Delhi University, Post-Graduate Library Science, again from Punjab University. Librarian, National Library, Calcutta. Author of "A Survey of Public Library Services in India", published by the Indian Library Association ; also of articles in the *Unesco Bulletin for Libraries, Indian Library Association Bulletin*, etc. Specialty interest in National Planning of Library Services.

KORMOKAR, Kali Chorone. M.A., Calcutta University ; D.E.C.F., Sorbonne, Paris. Head of the Department of French, Chandernagore College ; Lecturer in French, Calcutta University ; Deputy Director, Institut de Chandernagor. Author of *Anquetil Duperron and India* ; and—in French—*Chandernagor et Dupleix ; Le Développement de l'Enseignement français dans l'Inde française avant la Troisième République.* Special interest is in Indo-French cultural relations.

MITRA, Tarun Kumar. M.A., and Diploma in Librarianship from Calcutta University. Librarian of Uttarpara Jaikrishna Public Library, under the Education Department of the Government of West Bengal. Subject specialty is Indology.

PALIT, Chittabrata. M.A., in Modern History. Calcutta University. Lecturer in American History, Jadavpur University. Publications have appeared in journals : "George Thompson and the Birth of Political Pragmatism in Bengal" in *Bengal—Past and Present*, 1967 ; "Indigenous Business Enterprise in Bengal, 1780-1880", in *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, 1967 ; "Wilson, the Pragmatist in Diplomacy", at *USEFI Seminar on American History, Ranchi, October 8-14, 1967.* Interest is Public Opinion in Bengal, his Ph.D. thesis ; but broadly interested in Social History of Bengal in the 19th Century.

RAY, (Mrs.) Indrani. M.A., in History, from Calcutta University ; and D.Litt. from Paris. Lecturer in History, Jadavpur University. Thesis indicates specialty : "French Traders in

Bengal, 1685-1757".

RAY, Sukumar. B.A. and M.A., Dacca University; Ph.D., Calcutta University. Professor and Head, Department of Islamic History and Culture, Calcutta University. Publications: *Humayun in Persia*; *Bairam Khan*; contributions to *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden), and *History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay) Special interest is Indo-Muslim History and Culture.

SARKAR, Jagadish Narayan. M.A., Patna University; Ph.D., Calcutta University. Professor of History, Jadavpur University. Publications: *The Life of Mir Jumla, the General of Aurungzeb*, 1951; *Ideas of History: Medieval India*, 1966; assisted with *History of the Patna College, 1863-1963*, 1963; *Military Despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian General*, in press. Special interest is Medieval Indian History.

SARKAR, Nitai Chand. B.A., in English, M.A., in History, both from Calcutta University. Assistant Archivist, State Archives, under Education Department of Government of West Bengal. Broad interests in Modern History, Literature, and Archival Studies.

SEN, Sukumar. M.A. and Ph.D., Calcutta University. Former Khaira Professor & Head of the Department of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University. Author: *A History of Brajabali Literature*; *Old Persian Inscriptions*; *Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan*; *A History of Bengali Literature*, etc. Subject specialty centres around Linguistics: Old Iranien, Indian Languages, Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature, Bengali Language and Literature.

SINHA, Kunal. B.A. in Economics, M.A. in Political Science, and Diploma in Librarianship—all from Calcutta University. Assistant Librarian, Kalyani University. Writings have appeared in *The Statesman*, *Hindustan Standard* (English

language newspapers of Calcutta) ; in *Granthagar* and *Itihas,* monthly and quarterly respectively, and both in Bengali language. Specialty interest is the location of early Bengali publications in out-of-the-way places.

SINHA, Narendra Krishna. M.A. and Ph.D., from Calcutta University. Asutosh Professor of History, Calcutta University. Publications : *Ranjit Singh ; Haidar Ali ; Economic History of Bengal.* Specialist interest is Modern Indian History.

SINHA, Pradip. M.A. and Ph.D. in History, from Calcutta University. Lectuier in History, Rabindra Bharati University, Calcutta. Publications : *Nineteenth Century Bengal . . Aspects of Social History ;* and "Social Change" in *History of Bengal,* published by Calcutta University. Subject interest is Social Change in 19th Century Bengal.

PRIMARY PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

For 16th—19th Century Studies

AVAILABLE IN ORISSA LIBRARIES

SEMINAR PAPERS EDITED BY

KATHARINE SMITH DIEHL

FACULTY TRAINING FELLOW, CALCUTTA

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INDIAN STUDIES

INTRODUCTION

The American Institute of Indian Studies, Calcutta Center, was host to a gathering of scholars at Utkal University in Bhubaneswar (capital of Orissa) on April 26-27, 1969.

"The Primary Printed and Manuscript Sources for Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century Studies Available in the Libraries of Orissa" was the subject under consideration.

Dr. S. Misra, Vice-Chancellor of Utkal University, inaugurated the seminar by calling the scholars attention to the need for collection of source materials—both real documents and bibliographical citations—which would be useful to the study of history, civilisation, and culture of Orissa.

After opening the session, Dr. Misra called upon Dr. M. N. Das—Professor of History, Utkal University—to conduct the reading of the papers and the discussion. Several of these papers were extremely informal in their presentation, yet packed with details which introduced active interest and comment from the participants.

Again and again the speakers made vividly real two ideas: *first,* the dependence which Oriya history must place upon copper plate, temple, and manuscript sources because of the late intro-

duction of printing to this region ; and *second,* the derelict condition of most libraries whether they be institutional, semi-public, or private collections. Each of these matters is immensely important to local historians, and the participants went on record—so far as such a statement has worth—that all things possible must be done to collect, repair, and preserve these artifacts and documents.

When considering the emphases which the participants in the American Institute of Indian Studies, Calcutta Center, Seminar related to ". . . Libraries in Bengal" which was held just one year ago in Calcutta, it must be remembered that Calcutta and its immediate vicinity was the centre of intensive literary and cultural change while that region now known as Orissa was like a far-away country, without newspapers, printing presses, schools. Nor was there dialogue concerning government, religion, trade. Even today Orissa is chiefly rural, has a low population density, and is just beginning to discover the "modern" age. All these characteristics imply that traditional source materials be used for historical studies ; and that a certain degree of care-less-ness about the "old" things in the face of the "new" objects such as plastics, tractors, radios, and technological schools will be evident in homes and institutions.

As a result of this contrast between the centre of government, trade, and education—which was pre-1900 Calcutta—and rural Orissa, it will quickly become evident that the theses and sources used by the speakers at the Calcutta Seminar (1968) and the Orissa Seminar (1969) are in splendid contrast.

The effective planning for these sessions is due to preliminary visits and conferences made by Sri Tarun Mitra, Administrative Officer of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Calcutta Center.

In Orissa, it is the administration of Utkal University, and its Vice-Chancellor Dr. S. Misra, who graciously permitted the use of one of the university buildings for the sessions. Speakers from several Orissa colleges and universities were participants.

Behind the scenes, as financial support for this seminar, was the American Institute of Indian Studies whose funds come from several U. S. A. Government and private funds. The Institute's

sole intention is serious research in the many aspects of India's early, middle, and recent history—research by American scholars in more or less close collaboration with their Indian counterparts. The special intention of this particular series of seminars is books and libraries—their catalogues, their preservation, and their utilisation by qualified scholars.

September 10, 1969 **KATHARINE SMITH DIEHL**

CONTENTS

SOURCES FOR ORISSA STUDIES

HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB

THE life-history of Orissa from the 16th to the middle of the 19th century may be learned from (1) literary works produced during that period both by Oriya and Sanskrit authors, (2) local records from temples, ruling families, and villages, (3) inscriptions and copper plate grants, and (4) official government records.

First, a number of literary works produced during that period both in Oriya and Sanskrit languages depict the religious beliefs, social life, and political events. Many of these have been published : many are still in manuscript form and preserved in Orissa Museum, Utkal University, and Emar Math libraries. Some temples and monasteries possess manuscripts which they do not like to part with, and systematic search is required to find these treasures.

Second, local records such as the temple records of Puri Jagannath, *Madla Panji* or chronicle of the Jagannath Temple, may be well known. But that same kind of record used to be maintained in such ruling families as Mayurbhank and Koonjhar. Besides giving the family genealogy, various customs had also been recorded. The record preserved in the palace of the Raja

of Puri is the most important because it describes the status of various rulers, and the relations between landlord and overlord, and tells which rulers should be allowed entrance to the Puri Temple. From the same records it is learned that the Raja of Ranpur belonged to the tribal class, that the Narendra tank at Puri was excavated by the Ranpur Raja. Caste was not very rigid in those days, and the Rajas of Puri were to sanctify and permit the Ranpur Raj family to establish matrimonial relations with upper class Hindus. The Patna Raj family and the Mayurbhanj Raj family were once tribals: now they claim that their dynasty originated from Mansinha which is obviously not true. The Borosambar Jamindar family of Sambalpur district are tribals, *Gond*, but they have established matrimonial relationship with upper class Hindu families. Almost every village, particularly those on the bank of the Prachi River, has its own record which is usually read aloud on Dol Purnima Day (a fixed lunar date mid-February to mid-March) when the almanac for the coming year is publicly announced. These records are in the keeping of the village astrologers.

Some records which I have seen are those maintained in the Koonjhar and Patia families. They give the family history and related matters. The record of one village on the Prachi states that the tank of the village was excavated by Kapilendra Dev. All kinds of land measurements and land rights are included. The Maharaja of Parlakhemundi is publishing his records.

A village in Bonai has record that the people had migrated from Jajpur because of a terrible famine. Some time back, I was studying the movement of population with Mr. S. V. Sohani, now Chief Secretary of Bihar. We discovered that families had migrated from Bengal to Orissa, or Orissa to Bengal on account of flood, famine, or other calamity. As the refugee problem could be solved in the past, so it should not be considered insurmountable today.

Concerning Jeydev, some say he belongs to Orissa and others that he belonged to Bengal. Dr. Sukumar Sen and Dr. Asutosh Bhattacharya—both noted Calcutta University scholars—agree that Jeydev belonged to Orissa. At his time in the 12th century, the social unit of Orissa extended to Birbhum and included

districts now in Bengal. Today there are families in Birbhum and Midnapore who say they are Utkaliya Brahmin. My own grandfather told that they had come to Orissa with the army, and had settled permanently; but even till now they have not established matrimonial relations with the Oriyas. Recently, I myself established such a matrimonial relation with an Oriya family in Mayurbhanj. On the occasion of marriages in these families, some Hindi songs are still sung—a custom not found in Oriya families.

Let me emphasise the compromise in the Oriya castes. Some people there claim to be Rajputs. Probably their forefathers came to Orissa at the time of Aurangzeb, settled and married Oriya women. Now, centuries later, they still claim to be Rajput. Some Puri kings were Brahmins, as the Gang Dynasty. But *among others there was a custom for the kings to adopt a Brahmin* son who would perform funeral rites and give the first fire at the funeral pyre. There are non-Brahmins at Lingraj Temple, Bhubaneswar, and at Jagannath Temple, Puri; they perform certain services to the deities. During the car festival days, non-Brahmins do all the functions, take charge of the temple from the Pandas, and do all services to the deities. This has been going on from time immemorial. Again, at Bonai, all the zamindars are tribal people who are wealthier than the Raja himself. In the past the social units were one and the same.

Third, inscriptions and copper plate grants have been printed in *Epigraphica India*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, *Bihar and Orissa Research Journal*, *Orissa Research Journal*, and in Orissa Museum *Publications*. Discovery of inscriptions and copper plates is still going on, new materials are being found as history consciousness is growing and field research progressing.

From the middle of the 19th century, thanks to the introduction of the printing press, newspapers and journals have been published. The Orissa Sahitya Akademy prepared and published a catalogue of such newspapers and journals. Old volumes of some newspapers and journals are preserved in the Utkal Sahitya Samaj Library [see the paper by P. Patnaik in this series] and the Santiniketan Library, as also in personal libraries of such research scholars as Paramananda Acharya and Bansidhar

Mohanty.

Fourth, so far as official records are concerned, most are now at Cuttack in the Board of Revenue Library which had been the old Commissioner's Library. The Collectors' Libraries of British India districts (as Balasore, Cuttack, Puri, Sambalpur, and Ganjam) possess valuable information relative to the history and life of the regional people. Registration Offices at Cuttack and Balasore are other locations. The Cuttack Registration Office is the only place where, for nearly a century, important documents have been accumulating.

Oriya sources are widely dispersed. Some old journals and histories are in the Utkal Sahitya Samaj ; others, as *Utkal Prava,* are with Shri Paramananda Acharya. Because, at a time after the middle of the 19th century, Bengal and Orissa were intimately connected, many Orissa records are preserved in Calcutta's Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Library. All these records should be preserved and closely studied. The village records have yet to be collected. As an important copper plate inscription has recently been found at Nayagarh, so it may be that village records and temple records hitherto unknown may be discovered.

NOTE: The above is a blend of the formal paper contributed by Dr. Mahtab and his free commentary as recorded by the Seminar secretary. ksd.

EARLY ORIYA LEXICONS

Their Importance

BANSIDHAR MOHANTY

A BAND of English people entered Orissa in the year 1633 and tried to establish factories at Hariharpur (Cuttack District) and Pipli (Balasore District). The environment did not favour them. They had to march towards Bengal where, at last, they settled.

It is very difficult to get printed works relevant to Orissa studies from the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. Fort William College, the seat of Western education in Bengal, was started in 1800 A.D. Books on biblical and other themes were written and published in different Indian languages by enthusiastic missionaries like Drs. Carey and Marshman, but such works in Oriya language only began to appear from 1811. That year the *New Testament* was translated into Oriya by Poorosh Ram Pundit and Dr. Carey, under the aegis of Fort William College. It was sent to Serampore Press for publication. Other portions of the Oriya *Bible* followed quickly. I have tried in my research paper on Oriya Missionary Literature, "Oriyā Pādrisāhitya"* to

* In *Sahitya o Samskruti* (Cuttack, 1955), pp. 104-121.

furnish a bibliography of the Oriya biblical literature from 1800 to 1832, but these rare books are not available in any of the libraries of Orissa.

While searching, I came across certain Oriya-English and English-Oriya dictionaries compiled by missionaries. The first I found is part of Amos Sutton's *An Oriya Dictionary in Three Volumes*: the second volume called *An Oriya Dictionary with Oriya Synonyms; compiled by Rev. Amos Sutton and Bhubanananda Niaya Alamkar,* begun in 1842 and published at the Orissa Mission Press in 1843, in 300 pages. This whole set is the first printed dictionary in Oriya language, though there had been a small Vocabulary published at Serampore in 1811, edited by the men who did the first biblical translation. In Oriya, Sutton named the book *Utkal Bhāsārthāvidhāna.* His preface states that

> The Oriya dictionary with Oriya Synonyms and definations, though perhaps less needed at first by Europeans is in the author's estimation indispensible to an improvement of the language and will soon yield its fruit for the benefit of the European as well as the Native Student.
>
> In all uncultivated languages great diversity in the spelling of words prevails, this is emphatically the case with Oriya, many words of which are so variously written that one man usually finds great difficulty in reading the writing of another. It is manifest therefore that a primary step in the cultivation of the language must be an attempt to settle the Orthography.
>
> In preparation of the volume, the writer's plan has been to furnish his pundit with a list of words to be defined, similar to that which forms the basis of the Anglo-Oriya dictionary [i.e. Vol. I, ibid] leaving him to supply the definitions in his own style and insert any additional words that he might collect. To aid him in this department of labour, he was furnished with an Oriya vocabulary in Ms., which the writer has been long in collecting from Native works and pandits and with Rev. W. Morton's Bengal dictionary and also the version of Sri Rameswar Turkalamkar. A few words were obtained from a collection in Ms. kindly

furnished by Mr. Davis, formerly of Pooree. Constant reference was moreover had to Dr. Wilson's Sanscrut and Dr. Carey's and Mr. Mendies' Bengali dictionaries. A considerable number of Hindustani and other words current in the public offices, collected from various sources, have been inserted in their alphabetical order.

Towards the conclusion of this introduction, Rev. Sutton added a post script :

> The writer's pundit begs to claim his share of the honour of this performance and to which, indeed, he is justly entitled :
>
> Jnantautkalyā nakruti krutivih prochya manārtha sabdā
> Najnyaptah Sri Pādari Suttana khyāti matsāhebena
> Tena Srī Chūmyara Bhubanānanda dhirah prayatnā
> Jijnāsūnā mupa kruti krute sabdā koṣam karoti

While studying the words in Sutton's Oriya dictionary, it is evident that the author was resident in Southern Orissa. The influence of the southern dialect is abundantly found in such words as *Kadmadi* (Dāntare chobāibara), *Olagi* (Olaki hebāra ki karibara), *Mudirath* (Davālayara niyukta thibār Rājār Pratinidhi), and *Abhishān* (Sapya amangal bānchhibar).

It is a pity that no scholar has yet studied this first Oriya dictionary, published one hundred twenty-five years ago. A good number of colloquial words prevalent in Ganjam area have also been incorporated, *viz.*, *Angat* (Birudhabhābibar), *Anavina* (Hinamāna), *Chabal* (Fofad), *Tangudibāra* (Sampādibāra), *Dhibala* (Nefadā), and Mocha (Kadali).

The second etymological work in Oriya is *Dhatu Viveka*, translated from the Bengali *Dhātu Viveka* by Rām Kamala Bidyālankār. The Oriya translation by Shri Gobind Chandra Patnaik was printed at Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, for the Calcutta School Book Society in 1872. He dedicated its 181 pages to John Beams, Collector of Balasore.

John Beans's *Comparative Grammar of the Five Modern Aryan Languages of India* appeared that same year. It was completed in September of 1871 while he was Collector of Balasore. For various reasons, even during his work, he devoted

time to Oriya language.

In 1873, Rev. W. Miller's lexicon was published. *Utkal Dīpikā,* of 13th September 1873, states :

> Dictionary compiled by the Rev. W. Miller and to be published during this month. about 340 pages. An English dictionary especially adapted to the use of Europeans and native students and schools. An early application for copies should be made to the Superintendent of the Orissa Mission Press.

Utkal Dīpikā of 13th November 1875 mentions that a practical hand-book of the Oriya language was published by T. J. Maltby. It reads :

> A practical hand-book of the Uriyā or Odiyā language by T. J. Maltby Esqr Madras C.S. The book is intended to illustrate the Oriyā language in the order of its importance such as in its colloquial, epistolary and literary styles although primarily intended for foreigners learning Uriyā. (Printed by Wyman & Co., Hare Street, Calcutta).

The next work was a comparative English-Oriya dictionary by Gordon S. Wilkins. It was completed towards the end of the 19th century and published in 1916 in two volumes, or 684 pages.

These early works on Oriya lexicography mostly produced by the missionaries are of great significance for Orissa studies. However, the late Gopāl Chandra Praharāj, Oriya lexicographer. mentions that he has not used them while compiling his great lexicon. Only Howells' manuscripts and Grundy's *Oriya English Dictionary* were consulted, but not the first Oriya dictionary—that of Rev. Sutton. This is ascertained by the "Bibliography" in *Purnachandra Oriyā Bhāsā Kosh.* Referring to the early works on lexicology, Praharāj writes on page six of the "Introduction" to *Bhāsā Kosh,*

> The want of a comprehensive Oriyā dictionary has not only been seriously felt by Oriyas but has been commented on by Western Scholars and Philologists. Rev. Dr. Sutton compiled an Oriyā Dictionary in three volumes in 1841, Rev. Miller another in 1868. Rev. M. Brooks compiled an

Oriyā English Dictionary under the patronage of Government of Bengal. Rev. Mr. Howells very laboriously compiled an Oriyā English dictionary at the instance of the Baptist Missionary Society with the collaboration of some Oriyā graduates and Pandits and the book was not published. Also Babu Jagannāth Rao, Rai Bahadur Madhu Sudan Rao, Pandit Mrutjunyaya Rath and Pandit Gopinath Nanda compiled Oriyā dictionaries.

CONCLUSION

While discussing some early Oriya lexicons compiled by missionaries of Orissa, it is keenly felt that those books greatly helped the development of modern Oriya language and literature. Research work on these early Oriya dictionaries should be done by scholars, especially on Rev. Sutton's *Oriya Dictionary* which is a very important work from the point of view of Oriya philology.

ORISSA OF THE 16th CENTURY

PRABHAT MUKHERJEE

THE accounts of the foreign travellers, Fernao Nuniz and Domingo Paes, refer to the war of the Vijayanagar King, Krishnadeva Raya with Pratapa Rudra, the Gajapati King of Orissa, in the first quarter of the 16th century. They describe the events which led to the suicide of Virabhadra. son of Pratapa Rudra, who was made a prisoner by Krishnadeva Raya. Paes also refers to the marriage of Krishnadeva Raya with the sister of Virabhadra. But his knowledge about the kingdom of Orissa is vague. Paes writes that the kingdom of Orissa extends up to the kingdom of Pegu.

The Persian printed sources largely supplement our knowledge about the events that led to the fall of the Hindu kingdom of Orissa. Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama* and Badaoni's *Muntakabut Twarikh* refer to Akbar's diplomatic alliance with Mukundadeva against the Afghan King, Sulaiman Kararani. The Persian sources refute the popular tradition that Sulaiman's general, Kalapahad, was a renegade Brahman. The evidence of the Muslim chronicles proves that Kalapahad was a full-blooded Afghan whose real name was Raju. Abul Fazl's description Orissa was based on second-hand information. From his account of the Sun Temple

of Konarak, it would appear that the temple was intact in the 16th century, though evidence from a reference in Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* shows that it had really collapsed before the 15th century. There is a lot of discussion regarding the interpretation of the word "*ashinah*" which Abul Fazl uses in connection with the description of Mukundadeva's palace. If it means *storeys*, then Mukundadeva's palace was a nine-storeyed building, though it is difficult to believe that Mukundadeva located his artillery in the second storey and his artificers below his kitchen !

Our knowledge about a quarter century of Afghan rule in Orissa is limited. Dorn translated Niamat-ullah's *Makhzan-i-Afghana* in the 19th century. Twenty-three years ago, Sir Jadunath Sarkar pointed out that Dorn's translation is defective. The text had not been properly read. This misreading of the proper names confuses history. Briggs in his translation of *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* read Bhimraj, instead of Hamvira. The result was that the history of the last years of Hamvira was not known even two decades ago. Hamvira, eldest son of Kapilendra, was one of the greatest heroes of Orissa, but popular superstition deprived him of his ancestral throne. Niamatullah gives free rein to his imagination while describing the image of Jagannath which, according to him, was an image made of pure gold with twin eyes formed of diamonds. The only other Persian source of the Afghan rule in Orissa is the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* which describes Daud's short rule.

Sanskrit sources of this period contain a few details of minor historical interest. In the prologue of his drama *Jagannath Ballabha* Ramananda Raya, a courtier of Pratapa Rudra, refers to the King's achievements in extravagant terms. Paramananda Sen Kavikarnapura wrote a biography of Chaitanya and a *kavya* on his life. The statements of Kavikarnapura are on the whole reliable, but allowance must be made for poetical license and sectarian prejudice.

The writings of the contemporary Telugu poets throw light on the relations of the Vijanagar kingdom with Orissa. Allasani Peddana in his *Manucharitramu*, Nandi Timmana in *Parijata-paharanamu*, an unknown author in *Rayavacnakamu*, and Kumara Dhurjati in *Krishnarayavijayamu* describe the Orissa campaigns

of Krishnadeva Raya with great zeal. These authors did not always care for sober history. They have sacrificed truth in order to give a vivid picture of the capture of Katak (Cuttack), the capital of Pratapa Rudra. The inscriptions of Krishnadeva Raya categorically state that the Vijayanagar army did not proceed beyond Srikurmam.

The most important source book in Oriya is the Jagannath Temple chronicle called *Madala Panji*. The chronicle contains information which supplements our knowledge secured through inscriptions and Persian sources. The *Panji* is the main source for the history of Pratapa Rudra's successors up to the Muslim conquest. It vividly describes Raja Mansingh's selection of Ramachandra of Khurda as the Superintendent of the Temple. There are indications that the *Madala Panji* was compiled in its present form after the Mughal conquest of Orissa. The foreigners who invaded Orissa before the rise of the Somavamsi Kings are called Mogals. It is stated that in the reign of Bhandudeva IV "*Peshkash* was paid to a Nawab." These titles were not known in India before the Mughal Empire had been established nearly a century.

The temple priests depended on traditional accounts, true stories, and stray records for the compilation of *Madala Panji*. It was, after all, the history of the Jagannath Temple, and one should not expect it to be the history of Orissa. It is said in the *Panji* that Kalapahad threw the image of Jagannath into fire and died on the spot. But Kalapahad long survived the desecration of the Jagannath Temple. The *Panji*'s description of the installation of Jagannath in his Temple during the reign of Daud requires corroborative evidence.

A manuscript from Khurda, since printed, refers to the Muslim conquest of Orissa. It speaks of two traitors who became spies for Kalapahad. It writes that in the 11th Anka of Mukundadeva, the kingdom of Orissa passed under the Turks (Orisa *rājya* Turukkānhelā). Two contemporary religious works, *Vedāntasara Gupta Gitā* and *Sunya Samhitā*, incidentally refer to Pratapa Rudra's patronage of the Vaishnavas of the Orissan school. Iswara Dasa's *Chaitanya Bhāgavata* and Divākara Dasa's *Jagannāth Charitāmrita* are biographical works, coloured by mythology.

We now refer to the Bengali sources. A few facts bearing on contemporary history of Orissa may be gleaned from Krishnadas Kaviraj's *Chaitanya Charitamrita* and Brindavan Das's *Chaitanya Bhagavata*. These were written for the benefit of the Vaishnavas of the Gaudiya school. The authors extolled their own faith and excluded the non-Gaudiya disciples of Chaitanya from their purview. These devotional works give a one-sided picture of the contemporary religious life in Orissa. Nevertheless, these biographies of Chaitanya are useful because they deal with real persons and not with mythological figures.

Jayananda, in the 17th century, wrote another biography of Chaitanya. Some of its statements are entirely based on imagination. He attributed to Chaitanya the rôle of Pratapa Rudra's political adviser, a gross mis-statement of fact.

Now, to conclude : The printed sources do not throw sufficient light on the history of Orissa under the Afghans. For the chronology of events we are to depend on the Baripada Museum inscription, Achyutasagar inscription, and on two inscriptions of Raja Mansingh at Kasiadi.

THE FEUDATORY STATES OF ORISSA UNDER BRITISH RULE

JAGANNATH PATNAIK

Historical Introduction

THE Feudatory States of Orissa, comprising a group of twenty-four territories, formed almost half of the area of the present state. Lying between 22° 34′ and 19° 2′ North and 82° 32′ and 87° 11′ East, having a population of 173,395 (according to the Census of 1872), and forming a succession of hill ranges rolling backwards towards Central India, those states played a major role in the political history of Orissa since the beginning of the 19th century.

Their names are (1) Āthgarh, (2) Barambā, (3) Dhenkānal, (4) Hindol, (5) Khandparā, (6) Narsinghpur, (7) Nayāgarh, (8) Nilgiri, (9) Ranpur, (10) Tālchar, (11) Tigiria, (12) Baud, (13) Daspallā, (14) Koonjhar, (15) Mayurbhanj, (16) Athmallick, (17) Pāllahara, (18) Gāngpur, (19) Bonai, (20) Pātnā, (21) Kālahandi, (22) Sonepur, (23) Bamrā, and (24) Rairākhol.

Tracing the origin of the Feudatory States it is learned that in the hoary past there were many vassal states called the Garhj-āts under the Gajapati kings of Orissa in the 15th and 16th centuries. The word *Garhjat* is a hybrid, being the

Hindustani word *garh* (a fort), persianised into a plural *Garhj-āt,* which has been used as an English plural in the form *Garhj-āts* or *Garjāts*, according to O'Malley's *Bengal District Gazetteer, Balasore* (1907). In the light of a reference given in the same source, on "The Feudatory States of Orissa," one of the Chauhan Rajput chiefs living near Mainpuri—having been expelled from his territories by the Mohammedans—came to Patna where he had settled down and established his sway over a cluster of states known as the *Athara Garhj-āts.*[1] The chiefs of most of the *Garhj-āts* were said to have descended from Rajput stock.[2] This has been challenged. Although they were almost independent in their respective territories, they paid allegiance to the king of Orissa. This system remained more or less constant during the Mughal and Maratha regimes in Orissa. Under the Marathas, Orissa was divided into two parts : one was called Mughal-bandi (comprising the coastal belt) and the other was Garhj-āt. Mughal-bandi was in the real possession of Government as a royal territory, but Garhj-āt was held by the chieftains who used to pay stipulated tributes to Government. They stood as intermediaries between the government and the tenants of the soil. In 1803, after the British occupation of Orissa, those Garhj-āts were classed as the Feudatory States.

The Feudatory States were classified into three groups : Cuttack States, Chhotnagpur States, and Central Province States.

The Cuttack States, known as the Tributary States or Cuttack Tributary Mahals, were the first seventeen in the above list. Tributary States were said to have been the feudatories of the Maratha chief, Raghoji Bhonsle, at the time of the British occupation of Orissa in 1803.[3] Out of those seventeen states, treaty engagements were exchanged with the first eleven in that series in 1803 (immediately after British occupation of Orissa) and with the remaining six states in the year 1804. According to the engagements, the chiefs of those seventeen states had bound themselves to maintain submission and loyalty to the

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[1] *Bengal Gazetteers, Feudatory States of Orissa,* by L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, p. 199.
[2] *Ibid.*, Chapter II, p. 24.
[3] Aitchison's *Treaties,* III: 98.

Government of the East India Company and they paid annual *peshkash,* or tribute.

The Chotnagpur group, to which belonged the states of Gāngpur and Bonai, reverted to the British Government in 1818 under an agreement with the Maratha chief, Madhuji Bhonsle. Those states were finally added in 1826.

The last five states (Patnā, Kālahandi, Sonepur, Bamrā, and Rairākhol) known as the Central Provinces, were the last to be transferred to the Orissa Division.

Till now, no attempt has been made to prepare a thorough and systematic study of the history of the Feudatory States—though the original materials like *sanads, settlements, treaties,* and *negotiations* are available in plenty at different places about which a bibliography is given below. Reputed writers like Lee Warner, V. P. Menon, and D. K. Sen have not devoted themselves intensively to the study of these Feudatory States of Orissa, though their works are monuments so far as the study of the Indian States is concerned. At the Feudatory States constituted almost half of Orissa, a political vacuum will remain so long as a continuous history of these states is not written.

For these reasons the exploration of the history of the Feudatory States of Orissa is very relevant to the study of Orissa State. Discussion of the socio-economic and political conditions of the Feudatory States, the British conquest of Orissa, and the British conquest and supervision over these states—different phases of the relations between the British Government and the Feudatory chiefs—and the Revolutionary movements against the British Rule will give a complete picture of the Feudatory States of Orissa under British Rule during the first half of the 19th century, 1803-1857.

Source Materials, their location and condition

While doing research on this subject, I found much published and much manuscript material preserved in the Record Room and the Library of the Board of Revenue Office, at Cuttack, and in the Provincial Archives, Bhubaneswar. The Library has the published materials ; the manuscripts are in the Record Room

and at other locations. Some important records are also in the National Library of Calcutta. Again, each Princely House of Orissa is a mine of information, and the personal libraries of the former Feudatory chiefs contain some contemporary records. The libraries of the Maharaja of Patna and of Rajasaheb of Kanika are immensely important.

In dealing with the socio-economic and political conditions of the Garhjāt States, Cobden's *Bengal Gazetteer of the Feudatory States of Orissa* (1907) is helpful. The physical aspects, geographical condition, climate, culture, religion, people, race, towns, villages and the system of cultivation in the Feudatory States are dealt with exhaustively. Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal* (1872) and Sir W. W. Hunter's *Statistical Account of the Orissa Tributary States* are replete with descriptions of the socio-economic conditions of these peoples. Major Macpherson, engaged in the State of Kalāhandi to put down the practice of human sacrifices, gave a full report in 1841 on the habits and customs of the inhabitants of that state.

An exhaustive and detailed account of the history of the Khonds (the most important and most numerous of the aboriginal tribes in the Feudatory States, according to the 1901 Census) will be found in the *Gazetteer of the District of Angul* (1905). An article by D. A. Macmillan, Superintendent of the Keonjhar State, published in *Calcutta Review* (No. CV, for July 1896) has thrown light on the Bhuiyās, another important tribe of these States.

About the early British contact with the States of the coastal belt and those in western Orissa, the Record Room of the Board of Revenue is a repository of information. The bound *Correspondence Registers* contain a number of original letters of the year 1804 written by J. Hunter, acting Collector of the District of Jugannath to the Secretary to the Commissioners, Col. George Harcourt and to John Melvell. In all these letters we get references to the settlements made with the chiefs of Khurda, Kujanga, and Kanika.

The nature of the relations of the British Government with the Rajas of Narsinghpur, Hindol, Tigiriā, Darpani, Dhenkānāl, Āthgara, and Tālchar is known from the letter correspondence

of the year 1805 between the Rajas of those States and Thomas Fortescue, Secretary to Commissioners. Cuttack. This may be found in the bound volumes available in Record Room of the Board of Revenue, Orissa. A letter dated 31st December 1817 (Vol. 1817, J/5) from Andrew Sterling, Secretary to the Commissioners for Cuttack, is quite useful as a record of the British Government's relations with the Raja of Kujang. Volume J/5 and J/7 of the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820 contain contemporary reports between H. Blunt, Commissioner of Cuttack, and Mr. Impey, Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals, from 13 May 1814 to the end of October 1817 ; and between Brigadier Thomas, Station Commander of Cuttack and subordinate commanders stationed at different strategic places of Orissa. All of these give facts about the relations between the British Government and the Feudatory Rajas during the first two decades of 19th century.

There are several other works devoted to the description of the status of these Feudatory States, the nature of the British control, and different phases of British relations. Most valuable of these is Aitchison's *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads* relating to India and neighbouring countries (1876. 7 vols., rev. ed. 1907). Particularly Volumes I, II, and III deal with the Orissa Feudatory States. Further, *The Feudatory States of the Orissa Division and the Rules Applicable to Them* (Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1907. Parts I-II) contains general information about British relations with the States. H. M. Kisch, I.C.S., Under Secretary in the Political Department, 1803, gave an interesting and useful account of the status of the Tributary Mahals and States of both Orissa and Chotnagpur. This is available in Aitchison's *Treaties*, Vol. III.

The History of Orissa written by John Beams, Collector of Balasore from 1869 to 1873, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,* W. W. Hunter's *History of Orissa*, R. P. Chand's *Selection from Official Letters and Records relating to the History of Mayurbhanj* (Baripada, 1942) : *Bengal Gazetteers (Katak)* ; Report *on the Administration of the Central Provinces up to August, 1862 ; Bengal and Assam, Bihar, and Orissa : their History, People, Commerce, and Industrial Resources* compiled

by Somerset Playne and edited by Arnold Wright (1917); Edward Thompson's *The Making of the Indian Princes*; B. C. Majumdar's *Orissa in the Making*; Stirling's *Account of Orissa, Historical Statistical, and Geographical* (Calcutta, 1904)—these are some published materials which furnish information.

In addition *The Land Revenue Settlement of the Sambalpur District* (1907) by F. Dewar, I.C.S., Settlement Officer of Sambalpur; Russell's *Sambalpur District Report* (1876-1877); *Annual Report on the Administration of the Feudatory States of Orissa*; *Regulations of the Mayurbhanj State Council* (1905. Vols. 1-11); *Khurda Settlement Report*; Charles Grant's *The Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India* (1870) are some of the basic materials which can be consulted for preparing a systematic account of these Feudatory States.

Conclusion

There is no dearth of published and of unpublished sources for the systematic treatment of our subject. Lack of time and space prevents notice of additional items. I would share with scholars and researchers assembled here my concern about the present condition of manuscripts in the Record Room. These are unlikely to survive long if serious efforts are not made for their preservation.

PRINTED SOURCES RELATING TO UTKAL SAHITYA SAMAJA

PATHANI PATNAIK

Amos Sutton in the preface to his *Orissu and its Evangelization* told us about Orissa in this language: "It is to India what Jerusalem was to the whole land of Israel. It is the holy land of the Hindoos. As the Israelites went up to worship at Mount Zion, so do the inhabitants of the various provinces of India go on pilgrimage to the Great Temple of Jugarnath."

The Britishers took possession of this holy land in the year 1803. Soon after, the conquest was followed by rebellion. It was almost a decade before the British could establish their power in the state because of the Paik revolt of 1817 under the leadership of Bakshi Jagabandhu. This demonstrated for the first time a popular resentment against the British regime.

Of course, immediately after the occupation in 1803 the English Government set themselves the task of consolidation and land revenue administration. According to R. D. Banerji, "Then followed a number of hasty settlements concluded according to the advice of Bengali ministerial officers to whom a settlement always brought a golden harvest in the shape of bribes in cash and kind, zazars to the European officers and starvation and ruin alike to the peasants and their proprietors.' This from

his *History of Orissa* (II : 280). The quick succession of early English land settlements indicates the inefficiency and hasty conduct of the officers who were in charge of revenue administration of Orissa. The officers were greedy, corrupt, and unfaithful. For years Oriyas suffered in silence. Hundreds of old Oriya noblemen were ruined and their ancient heritage passed into the hands of Bengali zamindars. Fortunately the rebellion of 1817 saved the nobility of Orissa from total extinction.

By historical accident, Orissa remained under four separate British administrative provinces. This broke the unity and solidarity of the people. Consequently their language and literature, trade and commerce, health and education suffered.

The Paik revolt is a turning point in the history of Orissa. The British administration was more vigilant, strong measures were taken to consolidate their power. More attention was given to revenue administration in Orissa. The people of the princely-state areas revolted under the daring leadership of Chakma Bisoi. He raised the banner of revolt as late as 1856, and still later joined the Sepoy Mutiny. During the 1857 Mutiny, Puri, Cuttack, and Balasore remained peaceful; Sambalpur took a leading part under the leadership of Bira Surendra Sai. Banerji observes (in II : 306) that "Even after the proclamation of the Royal Amnesty at the close of 1858 the Sambalpur rebels did not surrender. The British authority was confined to the head quarters only, while the rebels plundered the cultivated tracts and inhabited areas from their strongholds in the forest". The leader of the revolt surrendered in 1862.

Thus the first half of the 19th century was full of popular revolt and political turmoil. The suffering of the Oriya people knew no bounds. Heavy natural calamities followed in quick succession. Famine visited the land year after year, but the Na-ank famine of 1866 made the British administration more conscious of social welfare. In 1862 the East India Irrigation Company had constructed many canals and opened new roads. The Government started schools and a college, established railway and hospitals.

When discussing the printed sources of Orissa Studies in the 19th century, consideration of the above historical background

is essential. Establishment of a press in the country is an important event in its history. The printing machine ushered in a new era giving rise to rapid increase in mass education, intellectual and religious improvement, and social consciousness.

The first Indian newspaper, *Bengal Gazette*, was published from Calcutta under the editorship of a foreigner named J. A. Hickey in 1780. It took thirty-six years to publish the first journal in Bengali because of the lack of proper facilities as well as Government control of the Press. In the meantime Raja Rammohun Roy and David Hare established the beginnings of Hindu College at Calcutta in 1818, and a missionary college was found by Baptists Carey, Marshman and Ward at Serampore in the same year. A renaissance was ushered in. The Serampore Missionaries were able to start the monthly *Dig darsan* and the weekly *Samachar darpan* in Bengali. This change in cultural outlook influenced the neighbouring states of Assam and Orissa a great deal. The missionaries were really pioneers in journalism —not only in Bengal, but also in Assam and Orissa.

The printing press was founded in this province (*Orissa*) in 1838 in order to propagate the gospel of Jesus Christ through the provincial language. Naturally the periodicals sponsored by the missionaries could be published only after they had the press established. When Carey reached Srirampore (*or* Serampore) he was already translating the Bible into Indian languages. The first Oriya version began from Srirampore in 1809.

It must be remembered that before the advent of the printing press, a manuscript periodical in Oriya was published by an Oriyan saint named Sadhu Sundar. This drew the attention even of the famous Capital of the British Empire ! The Kujibar publication states in this regard :

> The name of this prominent saint was known throughout Orissa as an old spiritual Rishi and Guru, or Sundara Babaji or Dharmapita (spiritual father) who was not only a holy and venerable sage but also was regarded as a socio-religious reformer, teacher of Vedantism, a great orator, a strict disciplinarian, a staunch nationalist and publicist who published the first vernacular newspaper *Kujibarapatra* (manuscript) during Marahatta and British administration of Orissa till 1838 A.D.

> ....His newspaper *Kujibarapatra* was a foremost independent organ of Orissa in which political, religious, social and administrative affairs of the country were being discussed, which attracted the attention of the people and British rulers and Rajas and missionaries. This Sadhu's views in his paper on some important religious affairs and legal questions of Orissa were published and commented [upon] in London Baptist Missionary reports and journals. (see Kujibar publication. Pamphlet, No. 7, Preface.)

Thus from the very start, Oriya journalism propagated advanced views on politics, nation-building, and social reforms. It was before the region had come into close contact with western civilisation.

The first Oriya monthly periodical *Jnanaruna* was published under the able editorship of Rev. C. L. Lacey in the year 1849. Another periodical *Arunodaya* came out in 1861 under patronage of a Christian missionary institution. These two Oriya journals were mainly devoted to the propagation of Christian religion, but they soon ceased to function due to heavy financial loss.

After their disappearance, the field of Oriya journalism came to a standstill for a few years. The great Utkal famine of Na-anka in 1866 swept away almost half of the population, causing immense damage in the entire land. Moreover after the establishment of the British rule in this state, the Bengalee officials from Calcutta were the virtual rulers. They had no sympathy for the common cause, and they could exploit the administrative machinery for their personal gain. The resulting discontent knew no bounds.

This history of *Dipika* and of other contemporary periodicals may be viewed as part of the history of modern Orissa. Before enumerating a catalogue of names of other papers of the 19th century, it must be remembered that the history of Oriya journalism is almost identical with that of modern Oriya literature and society. In those days there were no railways in Orissa : journals demanded better communication, education, and administrative and social justice.

Students are aware that in those days a section of the Bengali officials wanted to use Bengali language instead of Oriya as the

proper medium of instruction and culture in the province. As influential members of the British administration they were partly successful in their attempts and for some time Bengali textbooks were used in primary schools. From the beginning, Oriya-speaking regions were connected with Madras, Bengal, and the Central Provinces. Thus the Oriya language received step-motherly treatment from the respective state governments. It was not possible to follow a single policy in education all over these tracts. Under the circumstances, *Utkal Dipika* was leader in both education and culture. It attacked the unsympathetic policy of the Calcutta School Book Society which was then responsible for selecting texts. Oriya writers had no chance to submit contributions for school use. The *Dipika* secceeded in counteracting the policies of the above Committee and eventually local authors got an opportunity. Under the leadership of Gourisankar and Revs. Sutton and Miller, Administrator Beams, Nandakishore Das, Fakir Mohan Senapati and Bichhanda Charan, the *Dipika* won the day, and Oriya was considered a distinct language.

In this movement, Commissioner T. Ravenshaw supported the Oriyan cause ; and the eminent administrator and philologist Beams (in his *Comparative Grammar of Four Languages,* II : 119) proved that Oriya is one of the most powerful, scientific, and flourishing languages. As a result, a separate post of Joint Inspector of Schools for the Orissa Division was created. The late Raibahadur Nandakishore Das was appointed as first incumbent to the post in 1873. At the same time, Radhanath Ray—the father of modern Oriya literature—was appointed as Deputy Inspector of Schools in Balasore. According to some literary critics, 1873 is a red-letter year in Oriya literary history.

Following *Utkal Dipika* another newspaper *Sambada-Bahika* (the news carrier) was published from Balasore in 1868 under the patronage of Fakir Mohan Senapati. In those days the *Sambada-Bahika* at Balasore proved to be a real counterpart to *Dipika* of Cuttack. Radhanath Ray and Madhusudan Rao were in Balasore as Deputy Inspector and Teacher respectively. They, with Fakir Mohan, gave birth to a new era. Balasore became the center of literary activity. They found Raja Baikuntha Nath Dey a good patron for social and literary improvement. Under his

patronage a cultural monthly *Utkal Darpan,* or the 'Mirror of Orissa, was published in 1873. It became fortnightly in 1877, and weekly in 1879. During its short life it served as useful literary agent. Both Radhanath and Madhusudan contributed regularly to the *Darpan,* by translating good essays, novels, *kavyas,* and poems in English, Hindi, Sanskrit, and Bengali literature. Theirs was not revolt, but enrichment of our literature by translations from other languages.

Madhusudan was not only a poet, but also a famous journalist and educator. He was responsible for the publication of the *Sikhyaka* and *Dharma Bodhini* in 1873, the *Sikhya-Bandhu* in 1886, and the *Brahma* in 1894.

In 1887 a weekly entitled *Naba-Sambada* was published from Cuttack under the editorship of Bhupatinath Basu. This paper was devoted to science, literature, religion, politics, and social reform. It was sympathetic to Brahma religion. The following year it was incorporated with the weekly *Oḍia* of Balasore and was known as *Oḍia O Naba Sambada.* Along with the local news it included regular feature articles, book reviews, and many literary discussions, and gave information about publication of recent Oriya books.

Towards the latter part of the 19th century, *Utkal Prabha* (Light of Utkal) a cultural monthly edited by Chaitanya Prasad Ray, was published from Mayurbhanja. The late Maharaja Sri Rama Chandra patronised the paper and he declared prizes for the best writings published therein. It was due to his patronage and encouragement that *Utkal Prabha* was able to publish so,many novels, *kavyas,* short stories, essays, dramas, and poetry of the age. Thus *Chilika* and *Mahajatra, kavyas* on nature and nationalism by Radhanath Roy ; Bibasini, the second novel by Rama Sankar Ray ; philosophical poems and reflective essays by Madhusudan Rao ; literary criticism by Lala Ramanarayana and Biswanath Kar ; and many a writing by Fakir Mohan came to light for the first time in the columns of *Utkal Prabha.*

In a sense *Utkal Prabha* advocated ultramodern trends, but in the same context one must note the two famous journals, *Indradhanu* of 1893 (rainbow) and *Bijuli* (lightning) of the

same year, published from Cuttack and Bamanda respectively. At that time there was a great controversy between the old and the modern schools of thought. The two journals engaged themselves in fighting out the literary controversy. They ceased to function very soon, though they had initiated a spirit of mutual scientific criticism between the traditional and ancient school and the modern generation. The year 1897 gave birth to one of the most celebrated monthlies, *Utkal Sahitya,* which had a long and glorious tradition of almost half a century. This journal was edited for a long time by Biswanath Kave, eminent as a man of letters and as a daring reformer.

During the later half of the 19th century, Oriya periodicals not only contended by playing a dominant rôle in literature and presenting the news, but also it made a contribution in the fields of social reform, propagation of religion, business, sports, co-operative movements, and many other fields.

The following printed records are available in Utkal Sahitya Samaja Library. It is a rare treasury for scholars who are interested in the printed sources of Orissa studies of that century. It is high time that these periodicals should be properly preserved and available for research scholars.

PERIODICALS in UTKAL SAHITYA SAMAJA LIBRARY

1. *Utkal Dipika* (started 1866)
   Available : 1871-1874 ; 1876-1907 ; 1909-1934
2. *Sambada Bahika*
   Available : 1872-1904 ; 1904-1906 ; 1908-1923
3. *Odiā O Naba Sambāda*
   Available : 1888 ; 1890-1921
4. *Sambalpur Hitaisani*
   Available : 1895-1902 , 1906-1920
5. *Utkal Darpana*
   Available : 1879-1885 ; 1906-1907
6. *Tarakā O Subha Barta*
   Available : 1886-1888
7. *Purusottam Patrika*
   Available : 1882-1884

8. *Tarakā*
Available : 1883-1884
9. *Samskārak*
Available : 1886 ; 1888
10. *Naba Sambāda*
Available : 1807
11. *Samskārak O Sebaka*
Available : 1884 ; 1887
12. *Swadeshi*
Available : 1876
13. *Bideshi*
Available : 1873-1874
14. *Dipaka*
Available : 1889-1890
15. *Sambāda Bhaskar* (Bengali language)
Available : 1856-1857
16. *Education Gazette*
Available : 1857
17. *Gonjam Gazette*
Available : 1859
18. *Utkal Prabhā*
Available : 1892-1893 ; 1893-1894
19. *Mayurbhanja Pākhika Patrikā*
Available : 1879-1881
20. *Orissa Patriot*
Available : 1873-1874
21. *Utkal Putra*
Available : 1873-1874
22. *Oriya*
Available : 1887

THE EARLY BRITISH RULE IN ORISSA

KISHORI MOHAN PATRA

BRITISH contact with Orissa began in the first half of the 17th century. Hunter says "True to our national character we settled in Orissa as merchants long before we made our appearance as rulers." One of the earliest British factories in India was established at Hariharpur, Cuttack District, 1633. Subsequently other factories were established at Balasore on River Burabalang, and at Pipli on River Subarnarekha. "There are two Orissa harbours" writes Hunter, "forming the basis of our future greatness in Bengal." The British factory at Balasore developed into a thriving centre of maritime trade. In 1670—of several factories in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa—Balasore was the seat of their Chief and his Council. The preeminence of Balasore continued for a long time. It declined in the 18th century when East India Company trading centres were shifted to Hugli and Calcutta. Two original works provide valuable source material for this period of early British contact with Orissa C. R. Wilson's *English Chiefs at Balasore* and Charles Fawcett's *The English Factories in India.*

Orissa came within the orbit of East India Company political interest after grant of Diwani of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa in

1765, but *Orissa* of that grant was nothing more than the single district of Midnapore. The titular Mughal emperor used the term "Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa" as those territories had long formed one administrative unit in the days of the Great Mughals. Soon after the grant of Diwani, Clive attempted to get possession of Orissa proper through negotiation with the Marathas. In 1766 he sent Thomas Motte to Sambalpur to explore the possibility of diamond trade, and at the same time he was required to meet the Maratha Subedar at Cuttack to initiate political talks. Accordingly, Motte met Bhawani Pandit, the Subedar, twice.

Thomas Motte's account, though exaggerated in some respects, gives useful information about the socio-political condition of Orissa during the Maratha rule. His account is available in the second volume of *The Asiatic Miscellany* (Calcutta, 1786) itself a rare book.

Nothing came out of Clive's policy to get Orissa by negotiation ; however, from Clive to Cornwallis, the Company tried unsuccessfully to get possession by peaceful means. It was left for Lord Wellesley to conquer Orissa during the Second Maratha War. Some of the printed sources for this period are *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* (Records Department, Calcutta and New Delhi, 1911-1949) in nine volumes ; and *Selections from the Nagpur Residency Records,* edited by H. N. Sinha (Nagpur, 1950-1959) in five volumes. Sinha's *Selections* are very useful for constructing the accounts of Anglo-Maratha relations during the British occupation of Orissa.

By the Treaty of Deogaon which was concluded on December 17, 1803, Raghuji Bhonsla ceded to the East India Company "in perpetual sovereignty, the province of Cuttack, including the Port and District of Balasore". Raghuji also agreed to confirm certain treaties which had been concluded in course of the war with his feudatories by the British Government. The Feudatory States, or Garjats, which came under the control of the latter were sixteen in number and they are generally known as the Tributary Mahals of Orissa. Thus the three districts of Balasore, Cuttack, and Puri on the sea coast and the eighteen Tributary

Mahals of Orissa in the hill regions to the west[1] constituted the Orissa of the East India Company. The British laws and regulations were not enforced in the Tributary Mahals and therefore only the three districts in the coastal region were under direct administration of the British Government. During the rule of the East India Company, those three districts were commonly described as the "province of Cuttack" or the "Zillah of Cuttack". Orissa was included in the Presidency of Bengal, and the Government of Bengal framed policies, supervised administrative affairs, and exercised control over the officers in Orissa. It may be mentioned here that there was no separate Secretariat Establishment of the Government of Bengal until 1843. That year Lord Ellenborough completely separated the administration of Bengal from the general administration of India. In 1853 the Governor-General of India, who was also the Governor of Bengal and thus burdened with local duties of vast extent and importance, was finally relieved of that charge and a Lieutenant-Governor was appointed for the administration of Bengal alone.

The mass of source material for the history of Orissa under the East India Company is available in *manuscript form* in the State Archives of both Orissa and West Bengal and in the Record Room of Board of Revenue, Orissa. These original manuscript sources are extremely valuable for constructing (or *re*-constructing) the socio-political and economic history of Orissa during the early British rule. Here is a list of manuscript sources :

First, at the State Archives, Orissa, Bhubaneswar :

Cuttack Revenue Records, 1803-1858. 220 vols.

Balasore Revenue Records, 1803-1858. 170 vols.

Cuttack Salt Records, 1803-1858. 58 vols.

Balasore Salt Records, 1803-1858. 38 vols.

Balasore Custom House Records, 1810-1858. 12 vols.

Second, at the State Archives, West Bengal, Calcutta :

Letters to and from the Court of Directors, 1803-1858. (relevant vols.)

Bengal Judicial (Civil and Criminal) Proceedings, 1804-1857. 1199 vols. (relevant vols.)

[1] For a list of these divisions, see Sri Jagannath Patnaik's paper presented at this Seminar.

Proceedings of Board of Customs, Salt and Opium. 1819-1850.

Customs Proceedings. 361 vols.

Bengal Revenue Proceedings, 1815-1858. 609 vols.

Proceedings of Board of Revenue (Customs), May 1809 to December 1818. 22 vols. ; and *January 1851 to December 1858.* 94 vols.

Proceedings of Board of Revenue (Miscellaneous and Excise), 1804-1822. 200 vols.

Proceedings of Board of Trade (Customs), 1805-1806. 2 vols.

Third, at the Board of Revenue, Orissa, Cuttack :

Jagannath Temple Correspondence. Part I, 1804-1820 ; Part II, 1821-1815. These two volumes contain the copies of original correspondence of British officers regarding the Jagannath Temple.

Records of Customs Department, 1820-1823. 2 vols.

There are also a number of printed papers, records, and reports of this period in the National Library, Calcutta, and also in other places. One of the most important printed sources is the *Parliamentary Papers.* Here is a list of *Parliamentary Papers* which deal with the affairs of Orissa, and available in the National Library :

Great Britain. House of Commons. *Parliamentary papers.*

Sess. 1812-13, Vol. 10, Pap. No. 331. (Letter regarding the *Jagannath Temple,* from Claudius Buchanan to the Court of Directors, June 8, 1813).

Sess. 1814-15, Vol. 7, Pap. No. 39, (*Abkari regulation,* passed August 21, 1813).

Sess. 1816, Vol. 10, Pap. No. 121. (*Salt regulation* XXII of 1814).

Sess. 1819, Vol. 13, Pap. No. 533. (Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council regarding *police and criminal justice,* November 9, 1814).

Sess. 1837, Vol. 43, Pap. No. 357. (Letter regarding abolition of *pilgrim tax* in India, from the Court of Directors to Governor-General in Council, February 20, 1833).

Sess. 1841, Vol. 17, Pap. No. 232. (Despatch regarding abolition of *pilgrim tax*, from Court of Directors to the Government of India, March 3, 1841).

Sess. 1850, Vol. 41, Pap. No. 191. (Letter regarding management of the *Temple of Jagannath*, from Court of Directors to the Government of India).

Sess. 1852-53, Vol. 69, Pap. No. 789. (Letter from Bengal Board of Revenue regarding the *salt monopoly*).

Sess. 1852-53, Vol. 69, Pap. No. 988. (Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of India on May 5, 1852, regarding the management of the *Jagannath Temple*).

Sess. 1856, Vol. 26, Pap. No. C2084 I *to* C2084 V. (Report of G. Plowden, Commissioner of Enquiry on *Salt* in British India).

Besides the *Parliamentary Papers*, there are some printed *Selections from Government Records, Reports, etc.*, which offer important source material for the history of Orissa during the administration of the East India Company:

A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sunuds relating to India and Neighbouring Countries, ed. by C. U. Aitchison. Vols. I & III. (Calcutta, 1862-63).

Acts of the Legislative Council of India, ed. by G. S. Fagan. Vol. II. (Calcutta, 1862).

Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of Marquis Wellesley during his Administration in India, ed. by Montgomery Martin. Vol. III. (London, 1837)

Regulation and Laws enacted by the Governor-General in Council (for the civil government of the whole of the territories under the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal). Vols. V & VI. (Calcutta, 1828).

Report on the District of Cuttack, by Henry Ricketts. (Calcutta, 1868).

Report on the Village Watch of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, by D. J. McNeile. (Calcutta, 1866).
Report of the Commissioners on the Famine of Orissa and Bengal, 1866. (Calcutta, 1867).
Report on the Abkari Revenue of the Lower Provinces, 1852-53. (Calcutta, 1854).
ibid, 1853-54. (Calcutta, 1855).
ibid, 1855-56. (Calcutta, 1857).
ibid, 1857-58. (Calcutta, 1859).
Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, XXIVB, No. 3. (Papers on the Settlement of Cuttack and on the State of the Tributary Mahals). Calcutta, 1867.
Selections from Official Letters and Records relating to the History of Mayurbhanj. (Baripada, Mayurbhanj State, 1942-43). 2 vols.
Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XXX. (Report on the Districts of Puri and Balasore, by Henry Ricketts, 1853). Calcutta, 1859.
Selections from Records of the Government of India, No. V. (Operations for Suppression of Human Sacrifice). Calcutta, 1854.
Selections from the Correspondence on the Settlement of the Government Estate of Khurda in the District of Pooree. 3 vols.

Recently the State Archives of Orissa has published five volumes of *Guide to Orissan Records* which contain some administrative reports and papers of Orissa during the early British rule. So also *Orissa Historical Research Journal* has published Walter Ewer's *Report* which deals with all aspects of early British administration in Orissa before the outbreak of the famous Paik Rebellion in 1817.

ANCIENT AUTHORS AND THEIR BOOKS IN ORISSA

SATYANARAYAN RAJAGURU

BEFORE dealing with the literary activities of Orissa during the last two centuries, I venture to give a brief outline about some of the renowned poets and authors of this land—about those whose influence produced many eminent writers in the later age.

The earliest known Nyāya philosophy was written by Dharmakīrtti, Buddhist scholar, whose activities in Nālandā University and in China have been described in Buddhist literature. He revised the Nyāya system introduced by Kumārila-bhaṭṭa and other contemporary scholars of South India. Another glorious son of Kaliṅga was Viśvanātha Kavirāj, author of *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa*, an authority on Sanskrit Alaṅkāra. His father Chandraśekhar, who was then a minister of King Narasiṁhavēva of Orissa, was also the author of many Sanskrit works. Unfortunately, these valuable books have not yet been discovered. Very recently, I got a book of Viśvanātha Kavirāja, entitled *Chandrakalā Nāṭikā* (a Sanskrit drama) which was recently published by the Government of Orissa. Another drama, *Prabhāvati* by the same author, and a historical drama called the *Narasiṁhavijava Nāṭaka* are still missing. The latter book seems to have been based on the life of the Ganga king, Narasiṁhadēva

IV, who ruled Orissa together with the country of Trikaliṅga from 1371 to 1413 A.D.

Another poet, Sādhu, and scholar of this country was Mahākavi Jayadēva, author of the *Gītagōvinda,* which is the only *Kāvya* being recited in the Great Temple of Śrī Jagannātha at Puri. After his time a large number of books containing *Kāvya, Champū, Nāṭaka,* etc. (mostly in Sanskrit) were written by different Orissa authors. Many commentaries of these *Kāvyas* were compiled. They flash new light on the Sanskrit literature.

After the Imperial Gaṅgas, the Sūryavaṅśī Gajapati kings patronized the Oriya literature. The first known great work of the 15th century is the *Mahābhārata,* composed by Sūdramuni Sāralādāsā. He wrote the *Chaṇḍi-Purāṇa* and other books, some of which have been published—others not. The simplicity of Sāralādāsā's style is charming. It was adopted by many Oriya poets of the early years and the style attracted the Oriyas so much that in every village and every house a set of the *Mahābhārata* was preserved. These books were written on palm leaves and the duration of the manuscript could hardly exceed three centuries.

According to an old prevailing system in Orissa, the rājās and zamindars appointed trained scribes to copy valuable books intended for distribution free of cost among the Brāhmaṇs who were not able to afford the cost of books copied by trained scribes. So, according to the *Dharmaśāstra,* the rājās and wealthy people used to grant books—as they did land and other charities—to deserving Brāhmaṇs. In the time of the Gajapati king, Pratāp-rudradēva, Jagannātha Dās wrote the *Bhāgavata Purāna,* completed in twelve volumes. Composed in a very simple style which was melodious to hear, it was easy to understand even though it defined some difficult problems of philosophy and principles of Vaishṇavism. For this reason the book is very popular and is found at least in every village throughout Orissa. The common reading room in a village was called *Bhāgavata-Gādi* (Bhagavata-room) where, at a particular hour of the day, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was recited before a large gathering. It was a pious act in every Hindu family to recite or to hear the recitation of the *Purāṇas.* In the subsequent age this religious act changed into

conventional practice. Some worshipped Śrīkrishṇa, some Śrīrāma, and some also Śiva, or Durggā. So the *Purāṇas* and *Kāvyas* were composed with praises to these gods and goddesses for the use of the Hindu people ; they were frequently transcribed on palm leaves, and thus we are able to collect numerous copies. At the same time, authors who wrote *Kāvyas, Vyakaraṇa, Dharmaśāstra, Jyotisha, Vaidyaka, etc.,* were no less popular. Because they were less circulated, copies are disappearing from memory.

A few of these *Kāvyas* which were more popular are coming to our view, such as : Kaviḍiṇḍima Jīvaddēva and Divākara Miśra's sanskrit *Champū Kāvyas* ; Jagannātha Nārāyaṇdēva's *Saṅgīta-Nārāyaṇa* ; Jagannātha Misra's *Rasakalpadruma* ; Vāsudēva Ratha's *Gangavaṁśānu-charitaṃ* ; Gōpinātha Pātra's *Kavichintāmaṇi* ; Chaitanya Rājaguru's *Āyurdāya-Kamaudī* ; Rājā Purushōttama Dēva's *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi* ; Lōkonātha Tripāṭhi's *Kavikaṇṭhahāra* ; Śaṁbhūkara Vājapeya's *Dharmaśastra* ; Mādhavakara's *Nidāna* ; Nārāyaṇa Purōhita's *Vrataratnākara* ; Raghunātha Miśra's *Prayaschitta-Chintāmaṇi* (*Dharmaśāstra*) ; Valadēva Vidyābhūshaṇa and Krushna Miśra's *Bhakti Kāvyas* relating to Krishna līlā ; Śrīpati Dāsa's *Jātaka-paddhati* ; Chandraśekhara Sāmanta Siṁhāra's *Siddhāntadarpaṇa* ; Parāśara's *Krishi Karmapaddhati* ; etc.

Some of these old books await publication. I would mention that the old science of agriculture is well discussed in *Krushi-paddhati* by Parasara who lived near Tulasipur of Puri District. His birth-place is still regarded as "Parāsara-Asrama" in that locality. Two years ago I requested my son, Sri G. Rajaguru (a professor in the Agriculture College at Bhubaneswar), to make an analytical study of this old book. He has taken up the suggestion, and is writing a thesis on the subject. Similar attempts may be made in mathematics, astronomy, medicine, art, architecture, music, etc.

In Orissa every householder who possessed palmleaf manuscripts used to dry the books in the sun during the *pūjā* days of of Daśaharā. After paper and printing presses were introduced, the number of writers on palm leaves was reduced. The rājās and zamindars have given up the idea of preservation of manuscripts ; books kept in thatched houses and humid atmosphere

have been spoiled by white ants; others disappeared by fire or by flood. Many books were torn; the leaves scattered and thrown into the waters. These conditions have prevailed for about two centuries and consequently hundreds and thousands of valuable *manuscript books* have been lost forever.

About three decades ago, Utkal University appointed a pandit to collect manuscripts from villages in Orissa. Some of these are now in Utkal University Manuscript Library. A second important attempt was made by Mahanta Maharaj of Emarmath, Puri. He collected a large number of palmleaf manuscripts which are now preserved in Raghunandan Library and used by the public. But the most important, most useful collection is being made by the Government of Orissa. In 1950 the Government established a Manuscript Library in the State Museum at Bhubaneswar. The collection now numbers about 10,000 books. Some descriptive catalogues of these manuscripts have been published.

Without giving details about the titles, I will simply mention that many books are lying unknown and neglected in private houses; gradually some are being discovered; some have been published; others await study and publication. The present problem is preservation of the manuscript texts. If we are to have successful progress in establishing a good manuscript library in Orissa, it is necessary to focus attention on:

1. Survey and collection of manuscripts;
2. Preservation, by the most approved methods;
3. Copying those texts which are likely to prove most useful for reference by scholars;
4. Regular publication of descriptive catalogues, at regular intervals, and with cumulated indexes;
5. Publication of selected works which are necessary for the promotion and continuation of academic and research activities.

An entirely different matter of importance is the collection of old printed books and journals in Orissa. These printed sources will furnish the history of our literary progress during the 19th and 20th centuries. Many authors of this period are slowly falling back, to be wrapped under obscurity. Their con-

tributions, very useful and interesting for the study of literary history, are not available to the public for want of reprint or subsequent editions. Under these conditions we must make an overt attempt at collection of these books and journals, and a special section in the university libraries should be provided for them. According to my own information, there are home libraries lying neglected in the remote former zamindar residences. These families which commanded great respect and which had sound financial position under the British rule are now deprived of status and income since abolition of their zamindaries. At this juncture, I believe that if a reasonable amount of money were offered to them they would dispose of their home libraries. Unfortunately, little attention has been given to the matter. I personally know that the Zamindar of Mandasa, now in Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh, was once owner of about 10,000 palmleaf manuscripts kept at his place. Some selected Oriya books from his Library were copied by the Government of Madras about forty years ago (when one of my friends, Beturi Prabhakara Sastri, was Superintendent of the Oriental Library, Egmore, Madras). Mr. Sastri once suggested to me that I prepare a list of the manuscripts in the Mandasa palace for his scrutiny : but in those days the Orissa State had not been formed and nobody in Orissa was able to acquire manuscripts from the former Rājāsāheb of Mandasa.

After 1936 when I visited Mandasa, I found that the old Rājā had died and the zamindari was managed by his Dewan, Ramakrishna Deo. Mr. Deo, however, agreed to dispose of all the books if the Government of Orissa would pay him the cost of approximately Rs. 20,000 minimum. I tried to persuade the minister of Orissa, Sri Nityananda Kanungo, who was keenly interested in learning, but the objective could not be fulfilled due to the meagre revenue in the newly formed Orissa Government—then mostly dependent upon grants and subsidies from the Central Government.

A few years later, in 1948, I again visited the place. I found that thousands of manuscripts had vanished. The house where these books were kept had not been repaired for several years and was leaking, making the Library worse than a cowshed.

Now, after a lapse of forty years, not a single useful book is to be found in that Library. Such sad and tragic events happen in most of the home libraries of the former zamindars; but if we search at even this late hour, we may find some valuable things. The Palace Library of Badagada Zamindari in Ganjam had had a qualified librarian under the former Rājā. I was told that his interest in astronomy encouraged him to purchase many valuable books on that subject. Some of these, both printed and manuscript, are still preserved in the zamindar's palace.

In view of all these facts, an intensive survey may produce good results in the way of a collection of rare books and manuscripts from Orissa. It is needless to say that some people should voluntarily take the responsibility and the burden of making a thorough search for these materials if a central Manuscript Library in Orissa is to be established. It is such a huge task that neither the State Government nor any institution can accomplish the work single-handedly. It requires both cooperation and money.

Are we to gain, or to lose, the contributions of the best brains of our Mother-land for all days to come? That is the question before us today.

CHAUHAN RULE IN ORISSA

N. K. SAHU

Introduction

THE Chauhan rule started in Orissa about the middle of the 15th century A.D. with Patna, the modern Patnagarh in Bolangir District, as the headquarters. In the middle of the 16th century, Sambalpur became a stronghold of the Chauhans when Balaram Dev, brother of Raja Narsimha Deb of Patna, was given charge of that region as a bulwark against the aggression of the Kalachuris of Rathapur. From that time onwards, Sambalpur was the seat of the Chauhans and the glory of Patna began to decline. Under Baliarsingh (1600-1690) Sambalpur became very powerful, commanding hegemony over a cluster of eighteen states (*garha*) comprising almost the whole of Western Orissa from Gangpur to Baudh and some of the Chhatisgarh States like Surguja. Raigarh, Sarangarh, Bendra, Nawagarh, Sakti, Phuljhar, and Bastar. Sambalpur lapsed to the British territory on the death of the last Chauhan ruler, Narayan Singh, in 1849 ; but the rule of the Chauhans continued in the princely states of Patna and Sonepur till their merger with Orissa in 1948. Collateral Chauhan families ruled over estates like Khariar,

Barpali, Jharsuguda, and Rajpur-Khinda. These families have checquered history, and have made notable contributions towards the culture of Orissa.

Printed Sources

A. *English :* The first European writer who attempted the history of the Chauhan rule in Patna was Major H. B. Impey, appointed as the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur in 1862. In November 1861, the Central Provinces were created as a separate administrative unit and the next year, May 1862, Sambalpur with its confederated group of States formed a part of the new Central Provinces. After this merger of Sambalpur with the Central Provinces, Major Impey became the Deputy Commissioner of Samalpur. He wrote an historical sketch of the Chauhan rule in Patna entitled "Notes on the Garjat States of Patna" (1863) which has been preserved in the Record Room of the Sambalpur Collectorate. It has been published in *Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. II* (1953).

Richard Temple, Chief Commissioner of the newly created Central Provinces, wrote an illuminating work entitled "Report on the Zamindaries and other petty chieftaincies in the Central Provinces" (1863) an important source of history.

Among other European writers of the 19th century are R. H. Creddock, who wrote a note "On the States of the Zamindars of the Central Provinces in 1852" and C. H. Aitchison, whose famous work *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunuds* (especially Vol. II, 1876) is a source of basic history of the Chauhans and many other royal dynasties.

In this connection the "Narrative of the Journey to the Diamond Mines of Sambalpur" left by Thomas Motte (1767) and that of Leckie's 1790 Journey may be mentioned. Motte's "Narrative" was published in the *Asiatick Miscellany, Vol. II* (Calcutta, 1786) and has been reprinted in *Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. I* (1952). G. F. Leckie's "Journal" first appeared in *Early European Travellers in the Nagpur* Territories (1924) under the title "Journal of a Route to Nagpur by the way of Cuttac, Burrosumber, Dongur Ghur, and the Southern

Bungare Ghaut in the months of March, April, May, to the 3rd June, 1790". This has been reprinted in *Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. II* (1953).

C. U. Wills's work entitled "Rajput Kingdom of Medieval Chhatisgarh" is about the Chauhan rule in Sambalpur-Atharagarh, and appeared *in Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. XV (1919). In his "The British Relations with the Nagpur State in the 18th Century", Wills published the relevant portion from Rennell's *Map* which had been prepared in 1788, tracing the route of T. Motte to Sambalpur.

Cobdon Ramsay's Gazetteer of the *Feudatory States of Orissa* (1910) is a commendable effort at writing the history of the Chauhan rule in the States of Patna and Sonepur. But like Wills, Ramsay based his work in notes prepared by Major Impey.

L. S. S. O'Malley's *Sambalpur District Gazetteer* (1909) includes Chauhan history.

Besides these European scholars, a large number of Indian writers have produced valuable works on the Chauhan rule in Orissa. B. C. Majumdar's two 1925 works are "Orissa in the making" and "Sonepur in the Sambalpur Tract". Both have been adversely criticised by subsequent scholars but, despite their drawbacks, they do throw some new light on Chauhan rule.

Modern writers have published works on the life of Surendrasai, the rebel leader of Sambalpur. Notable among them are Shri Prabhat Mukherjee, author of the *History of Freedom Movement, Vol. II* and one of the participants in this Seminar. and Shri Aniruddа Das. who published in 1962 the *Life of Surendra Sai.* Other works are Dr. H. K. Mahtab's *History of Orissa in the 19th Century* (1964) and Dr. B. C. Roy's *Orissa under Marathas* (1960). Dr. J. K. Sahu's Ph.D. thesis, "Chauhan Rule in Orissa" is a very important source but unfortunately has not been published.

B. *Sanskrit :* Among the Sanskrit works the most important is *Koshalananda Kavya* of Pandit Gangadhar Misra, court poet of Maharaja Baliar Singh. This was printed in 1929 by the Sonepur Darbar. Another manuscript of this work was discovered in Patna State, and is now in the State Museum, Bhubaneswar. Pandit Gangadhar Misra is rightly regarded as

the first writer in Orissa who produced historical works and his *Koshalananda* is an authentic text on the Chauhan rule. A number of articles have been published by scholars on different aspects of the *Koshalananda*, important among them being:

i. "The Geography of Patna as found in the Koshalananda Kavya" by P. C. Rath. In *Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society, Vol. II.*

ii. "Koshalananda Kavya" by L. P. Pandeya Sharma. In *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XX.*

iii. "Political conditions of Patna on the eve of Ramai Deo's accession" by B. M. Hota. In *Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society, Vol. I.*

The other notable Sanskrit work is *Prabodha Chandrika* written by Raja Vaijal Deb II of Patna, who flourished in the first half of the 16th century. Shri Kedernath Mahapatra's article on Vaijal Deb was published in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. II* (1953).

C. *Oriya and Hindi :* The most important Oriya work is *Short History of Koshala* by Shri Shriram C. Mallik (1931) and considered to be an authentic work by many scholars. Shri Siva Prasad Das published a voluminous Oriya work in 1962, *History of Sambalpur.* The famous poet, Gangadhar Meher wrote (1910) the biography of Nruparaj Singh, the Zamindar of Barpali, in which he was able to thrown some new light on the Chauhan rule.

Shri Prahallad Dubey's important Hindi work entitled "Jayachandrika" was written on the occasion of the coronation of Raja Jayanta Singh of Sambalpur in 1782. This has not been published, but the manuscript is to be found in the State Museum, Bhubaneswar.

D. *Inscriptions :* Some important inscriptions relating to the Chauhan rule in Orissa have been published in various journals. Among them are :

i. "Narasimhanath Stone inscription of Vaijal Deva" edited by Pandit Binayak Misra. In *Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII.*

ii. "Two Copper Plate Grants from Themera" edited

by Shri P. Acharya. In *Orissa Historical Research Journal,* Vol. II (1953).

iii. "Bargarh Copper Plates of Maharaja Narayan Singh of Sambalpur" jointly edited by Shri G. S. Das and Shri S. C. Day. In *Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol II* (1953).

iv. "Oriya Copper Plate of Sambalpur District" edited by Shri Sudhakar Patnaik. In *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVIII.*

SEVERAL ASPECTS OF BOOK PRESERVATION AND BOOK SECURITY IN INDIA

KATHARINE SMITH DIEHL

PRINTED books, journals, and business forms with their hundreds or thousands of copies were not invented in Asia.

Until 1850, a page of print was a novelty. Cities where international business was transacted had printing presses; Central Asia had none. In coastal cities and along the major seaport-river Hooghly, presses existed in large numbers. Printing had not become established in any inland city, though there were beginnings which developed rapidly after national and international communication was improved by the telegraph, steamboat, and railroads.

As a result of this historically recent development, a peculiar situation has taken place. People of Asia have understood and have valued manuscripts because of the facts of personal importance which these manuscripts contain : facts related to religion, family, property. The pride of place which the manuscript records hold can scarcely be understood by a modern resident of any western country—especially the reverential care with which the family lineage is preserved. The family tree is important to people of an old civilisation, for the family shall remain pure. Misunderstandings between young affluent nations and old, so-

called, economically handicapped civilisations have arisen. Little remains of the aristocracy in Europe which had inherited wealth and status by virtue of lineage. Royal families are becoming fewer and fewer and their importance decreasing. In America we have few family trees, but we have millions of books.

The conflict in values which has resulted has caused a real dilemma in parts of Asia. India, for example, wants to retain the old way of life in personal standards and at home. Meanwhile the handloom, the chula, the two-wheeled cart, and the oil lamp are being discarded in favour of power looms, automatically fuelled stoves, automobiles, airplanes, and electricity with all its gadgets. Without the experience which long stages of education, training, and practice during youth and young manhood—so that the coming generation may grow into the atmosphere of personal and public competition—India wishes to be an instantaneous world power. It is not alone at the Olympic Games held in Mexico recently that Indian youth suddenly realise the gap between their unawareness of stress and tension which disciplined education instils and the readiness which their competitors had developed and utilised.

This attitude of *non-interest*, of *paying no attention to records*, of *seeing only the surface of a manufactured product* without understanding its use or the function of its component parts, *without insistence on standardised* results possible only when the proper parts or tools make the machine function—every bit of this has developed because somewhere along the line of historical events adult Indians were never required to understand a complete process. Work has been so divided that little bits of a total job have been doled to this family and to that—each of whom perfectly understood the tiny chip he was to complete, but none understood what his neighbour was attempting nor what both were cooperating to complete.

Tragically this is the state of affairs in universities, colleges, public education, industry, libraries. You and I cannot remake the system : we can simply begin to create some order within the institutional book collections, and within the university library atmosphere.

What kinds of things are nationally and internationally

important in our libraries?

First, Business papers in manuscript form—from as long ago as such records remain. The largest and most nearly complete series which I've seen is in the Historical Archives of Goa, where all extant papers from the time of the Portuguese conquest in 1510 are preserved, bound, and easily accessible through a printed catalogue entitled *Roteiro dos Arquivos da India Portuguesa (public ão do Arquivo Historico do Estado da India), Intro, e notas por Panduronga S. S. Pissurlencar, Director. (Tipografia Rangel—Bastora, Goa, 1955) xxi. 261 p.* A microfilm set of these papers, almost complete series, has been prepared and is in Lisbon; the originals are in Panjim, Goa's capital city.

But these government business papers were not organised over one night. It took some thirty years of steady, day-by-day arrangement, filing, coordination, checking and counter-checking of dates and signatures before even a single volume could be send to the bindery. There are thousands of volumes: the direction of the work plus the preparation of the catalogue is the work of one individual (who has died since the paper was read, at the age of seventy-six years).

Papers remain in Orissa; papers remain in Bengal; papers remain in every Indian state: Unorganised. and who to do it? Who will volunteer? That is the primary question: Who will volunteer? Who will come to office at eight o'clock, and work until long past official closing time? Who here among us today is sufficiently curious about the contents of some of these old things to get busy? (At the same time, to get hot, and dusty, perhaps hungry because of forgetting to take a meal?) If papers are not collated (organised) speple who honestly care about India's future and India's past will be handicapped because the records of events, papers referring to business transactions, and government decisions will not be existing. Reports of formal and of informal committees and businesses will be destroyed.

Historians among us must make a move; librarians among us must make another move; scientists and politicians among us must make their moves. And the principal act must be that of preparing a massive inventory of the contents of our public, and our untouched private almirahs, archives, homes, and offices.

Second, Political papers remaining from previous governments. These papers are not poison, not contraband ; these are not useless. Every one is part and parcel of national history, each a step along the path towards Today, and eventually each is a part of the history of mankind. Putting whitewash on walls, tearing down old pictures and totally destroying the final copy, covering old carvings with new plaster will not erase one jot of the event. It will simply make such actors appear very foolish and very unpatriotic to future generations. Destruction of papers belonging to former governments is an act of international criminal proportion. No nation can live unto itself. The greater the supply of information one nation has about its own and its neighbours affairs, the stronger will that nation become. Making believe there is no Cuba, no China, no Russia, no U.S.A. is to become blind. But, how many nations have refused to permit papers of particular national origin to enter even central government offices ! How soon is the official mind changed when the economics and the purse force recognition ! How many pieces of manuscript history are destroyed in similar bonfires and political ritual purifications ? How small are the perpetrators of the acts in the eyes of those who follow after !

Third, Printed government papers, legislation, gazettes, decisions, reports, etc. There was a brief period between about 1835 or 1840 and 1875 when Chinese paper-makers reaped a harvest, and printers in India made a serious mistake. This Chinese paper was carried outward as ballast on shipping that had too little freight. The paper was low in cost, its printed copy beautifully clear, people could buy the books for little money. The trouble was that this paper did not prove durable : it became brown, then brittle, then powdery within a very short time. The Portuguese discovered what was taking place and their Government Press in Goa had established the practice of using two sorts of paper : (a) the Chinese paper for sufficient copies intended for free distribution, or for current purposes, and (b) European paper for official copies, government record offices, and exchange. Before they had realised the tragically short life of some printing paper, they had printed some things on it only. As a result, but a single partial leaf of the first series of their government gazette.

Gazeta de Goa, remains : a page dated in February 1824. Whether Goa ever, or never, became part of India has no bearing at all on the matter. Copies of public documents had become aged, nobody had presence of mind or foresight to realise that in the 20th century there are ways of photographically preserving such old serials ; there are even ways of saving the objects themselves. But, now they are gone—perhaps a set is in Lisbon. I've not yet been able to find out.

Fourth, Semi-public monographs. Governments have subsidised personal artistic, literary, religious, scientific, and historic research and publication for hundreds of years. Temples, tombs, inscriptions, court poets, scientific expeditions, results of investigations paid with some tax money are extant for several thousand years. Countless books were written by teams of persons abroad in Asia : military officers, surgeons, scientists, linguists, engineers, journalists, lawyers, novelists, poets, clergy, administrators of jails or harbours or hospitals or botanical gardens.

Such publications are semi-public documents, but believe me those collected in South Asia are difficult to find today ! They were sold or distributed to interested subscribers all over the world. There were both news and essential information for governments and societies concerned. Usually they are found, today, in any city except the one where it was published—a possible exception being Calcutta which has had a history of community library service since nearly the beginning of printing in that presidency. But notice that I remark, "a possible exception." All Bengal publications are assuredly not to be found today in the whole lot of her libraries, of which there are many !

Fifth, Newspapers, journals, public diaries. These are current news which is here today and of little use tomorrow except to bring the bazar good home for the evening meal. Try to find a complete file of the newspapers printed in any Orissa community. Try to find a complete file of any such newspaper in any city in India. Will it be at the printing office ? No. Will it be in the local library ? No. Will it be in one of the central libraries ? Certainly not all of it. Will it be in London ? Pieces only. Yet, here is history just as it happens, including the broken motor bike and the broken heads, the cinema features and the

prices of computer experts, the calls for schoolteachers and the availability of rice.

These old papers are lost to the community. What is happening to the 1969 issues? Same thing: Who cares? We have no court painters, no court poets, no fools to entertain and to vex : yet such folks served as keepers of the records. Today, who cares for print? Who cares what happens?

Sixth, Creative literature. Until not very long ago, the art of telling and retelling tales and poems, of singing long poems on successive days, of acting particularly auspicious dramas at special seasons was universal in South Asia. India is about to have access to world-wide television : Lord, have mercy! With this infernal picture-box, a fractionally literate populace will soon dissipate the gentle art of story-telling and poetry reading, of traditional dance and drama, of traditional faith. T-V is a spectator sport, it requires no participation, and you can neither ask a question nor applaud!

I don't wish to sound like the Voice of Doom! But you, as well as I, know that the cinema has changed community life—not entirely for the better; the airplane has changed community life; the railways, postal services, telegraph and radio have changed community life. All these things have been imported. What has India done with the imports? What will India do with T-V? What will happen to India's people and her communities as a result?

What is India doing with her libraries? Sometimes I want to answer the question, "Simply nothing at all". A few faithful and dedicated individuals are struggling to maintain such once-great institutions as the Connemara and Madras Literary Society Libraries in Madras, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and Asiatic Society Libraries in Calcutta. The situation at Bombay's Town Hall is, at the moment, critical. Goa's Central Library has a curator who knows Marathi, Konkani, and English; but nothing at all of the Portuguese, French, Italian, Spanish—in which the bulk of the Library's richness lies. Nowhere else in Asia are such sources available, as in Panjim.

Private collections in some (not all) institutions are loaded with bookworms. They are so damaged that not even a single

reader can utilise them. Yet if these old books, and some not so old, are permitted to deteriorate further, what has India to offer to research? I've seen the Tanjore Saraswaty Mahal Library, a gem of a place, dating from the late 17th century and in fine order today. It is not loaded with insecticides, it is not kept off-limits to the properly-introduced reader. It is used, it is constantly attended, and is treasured. Yet what happened a few years ago nearly destroyed the Uttarpara Jaikrishna Public Library, for an energetic ignorant soul decided to clean house and he began by removing the old books. That is all they had: *Old Books.* Very fortunately a real scholar came by: he is now the librarian. Some order is taking place.

Seventh, and last, Orissa Libraries. I don't know Orissa's libraries. We are here to try to discover them, so that each of us may learn. What is available to you? What is fit to be used. What is nearly destroyed? Where may duplicates be found in Orissa? Where, in India? What will you do about it, as a community of public-spirited scholars?

You may, or may not, know that the western nations want the copies of many of the books now in South Asia.

Why do they want them? For research! For special library collections devoted to international studies. Many such special libraries are being organised and, because few of these books ever existed, the handful of copies remaining is being reduced still further by this export.

Indian scholars know that for many of their scholarly needs they must go to Europe in order to completely write their dissertation (thesis). Some are now saying that soon they must go to America!--for that same reason. Both U.K. and the U.S.A. know (or think they know) that Indian climate is hard on books, and to save them from destruction an air-conditioned library in California, or Chicago, or New York is needed. I submit that, until 1960, all books in Carey Library of Serampore College were in spic-and-span condition because they were dusted and handled regularly once a month; they had sunlight and fresh air throughout the year, even during the rains when possible; and they were treated with neem leaves. I also submit that in 1961 with the introduction of air-conditioning, the transfer of books

to a ground floor room completely sealed, deterioration began. It has not stopped ! Nothing can halt it : books which had been firm and dry and clean from 1534 (one of the Library's earliest books) to 1960 began to be moist. Of libraries with closed almirahs, worms and rats tell other tales. Of books in jute sacks, it is simply such rats and snakes as Dr. Sprenger found in the old Palace Library that had belonged to the Nawab of Oudh.

We want education in Orissa. We want education in India. We want universities here too. We want research...modern books...and on and on "we want".

All this wanting of reference sources from yesteryear can be satisfied in but a single way, a way calling for exertion and willingness to get several things done quickly. We require the manuscripts which are now scattered here and yonder ; we require information about private, semi-private, public, and government manuscript and book collections : we require the use of the manuscripts and printed books which are physically located in India.

India's libraries are extremely valuable ; almost every one is a law unto itself as to be books contained. Few of these libraries have a catalogue which represents the present stock ; and often the curators are more concerned with locking the reader safely away from the book than in realising that this human creature can do no more harm than has already been done by Time. In fact the use of the volume will serve as ventilation and disturbance to whatever creatures may be hiding in the binding.

Let us make a beginning towards a catalogue of what is in Orissa libraries. Scholars are beginning to come to this state for modern studies, as they had come for centuries for religious studies. They will be delighted if the treasured books and manuscripts which surely must be hidden away can become available for use. These sources thus become a part of the chain of sources available in India, in Asia, and in the World.

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

DIEHL, Katharine Smith. M.A. (Advanced)
For further information *see* the final Biographical Index in this volume, Bihar Seminar.

MAHTAB, Harekrushna. D.Litt. and LL.D. Formerly Chief Minister, Orissa; Central Minister for Industries & Commerce; and Governor of Bombay. Now President of Sahitya & Sangeet Natak Akademics, and Member of the Orissa Legislative Assembly. *The History of Orissa,* in two volumes: *Beginning of the End*, and *Road Ahead;* also novels and poems.

MOHANTY Banshidhar. Ph.D. Reader and Head of the Department of Oriya. Utkal University. Vani-Vihar. at Bhubaneswar. *Oḍisār Nath Sampradāya o Nāth Sāhityā* (1968); *Oḍiā Bhasātatwar Bhumikā* (1969): *Odiā Sāhītyā o Samskruti* (1959); *Oḍisār Adibāsi Samskruti* (1955); *Abhitebhāsan* (1950). Interested in collecting palm leaf manuscripts, old records and paintings; ancient Oriya literature and language; currently compiling the Bibliography of Oriya Books.

MUKHERJEE, Prabhat. M.A. Lecturer in History, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack ; and Reader in History, Utkal University (currently). *History of medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa* ; *History of the Gajapati Kings of Orissa; History of Orissa in the 19th Century* ; *History of the Freedom Movement in Orissa, Vol. II.*

PATNAIK, Jagannath. M.A. in History, Utkal University. Since September 1955 with the Orissa Education Service as Lecturer in History, currently posted at Fakir Mohan College, Balasore. Publications are chiefly textbooks, in English : *World History* ; *History of England from Bosworth to Waterloo* ; *General Knowledge* (2 books) ; and in Oriya : *World History* ; *Indian History*. Engaged in pre-doctoral studies in History under Dr. M. N. Das, Professor of History, Utkal University.

PATNAIK, Pathani. M.A. in Oriya Language. Some years a journalist ; then with the Press Commission, Govt. of India as research assistant. Joined Christ College, Cuttack, in 1954 ; now Reader and Head of the Department of Oriya. Contributor and member of working committee of several journals. Publications chiefly in Oriya language : *Oḍiā Sāhityār Bhumikā* ; *Bharatiya Sāhityār Bhumikā* ; *Prabandha O'Samalochana* ; *Sāhityā Parikrama* ; *Sāhityā Bichhar* ; and editor of *Sāhityār Rahasyubada*, and *Mehera Aloka.*

PATRA Kishori Mohan. Ph.D. Lecturer in Post-Graduate Department of History, Utkal University since 1961. Ph.D. research completed under University Grants Commission Fellowship, 1963-64. In press *Orissa under the East India Company, 1803-1858* (Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal). Currently engaged in studies in the Orissan Temples, and the Economic History of Orissa under British Rule.

RAJAGURU, Satyanarayan. U. B. P., or Ubhaya Bhashe Pravina from Andhra University. Belongs to the Rajguru family of the Gajapati Royal Line ; educated chiefly in Sanskrit

and other oriental studies ; learned Epigraphy at the Calcutta and Madras Museums. Since 1950 Curator, and now Epigraphist, of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. Publications in English : *Inscriptions of Orissa* (5 vols) ; *History of the Gaṅgas* ; in Oriya : *Palaeography of Oriya Scripts* ; *History of the Nagas* ; *Kalinga Speaks* ; and historical kavya, *The Manorama* ; *Radhābhiseka* ; and *Janani Utkala* ; in Sanskrit, an edition of *Chandrakala Nāṭikā* by Visvanatha Kaviraja.

SAHU, N. K. Ph.D., D.Litt. Registrar of Sambalpur University in Sambalpur, Orissa.

PRIMARY PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

For 16th—19th Century Studies

AVAILABLE IN BIHAR LIBRARIES

Seminar Papers Edited By

KATHARINE SMITH DIEHL

Faculty Training Fellow, Calcutta

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INDIAN STUDIES

INTRODUCTION

Patna, in the State of Bihar, Fourth and Fifth July of the year Nineteen-Seventy, at the Palace Hotel.

Sri Tarun Mitra, Administrative Officer of the American Institute of Indian Studies Calcutta Center, greeted the historians gathered upon invitation of the Institute for reading papers and for discussion. His first statement was a note of sadness: Dr. Aditya Prasad Jha, who had been expected to preside part of the time and to add major notes to the discussion, had died very suddenly just a week earlier as the result of a small but serious accident. The assembly stood for a moment in silence in his honour.

Following the announcement of the subject, "Primary Printed and Manuscript Sources or 16th to 19th Century Studies available in Bihar Libraries' Miss Diehl stated in a few words her pleasure in being able to add this seminar to the earlier ones held in Calcutta (1968) and Orissa (1969) on relatively the same subject in order to accumulate a substantial body of information about historical sources available. their physical location, and their condition.

Seminar faculty members of Patna University presided over

the three sessions :

4th July, Morning : Dr. R. S. Sharma, Professor and Head of the Department of History;

4th July, Morning : Dr. R. S. Sharma, Professor and Head of the Department of Persian ;

5th July, Mid-day : Dr. V. A. Narain, Reader in History.

This 3rd historical bibliography seminar on sources available in libraries of Old Bengal—meaning by today's political geography Bengal, Orissa, and Bihar—brings another region of very localised interest into prominence.

People who live in Bihar have done the usual thing: retained personal records in a safe place in the house, at the place of worship, or in custody of some local leader or institution. Gradually some of these papers, both legal and personal, have found their way into public and/or semi-public Rooms. Just as gradually, some have disappeared completely by (1) donation or bequest, (2) advice of the local authorities, (3) sale, (4) destruction by natural causes, including natural wear-and-tear, (5) and "lost", which may mean any number of things.

Present access or availability of these historical sources, including both their physical condition and security measures towards safe-keeping, came into the discussion. Perhaps this was less vehement than parallel discussion had been at Calcutta and Bhubaneshwar, but the spirit of real concern was voiced. All persons present—and there seemed to have been an epidemic of emergencies which kept one or another well-prepared person away—had done historical research ; all had known the inordinate waste of time and energy while hunting a document or a book ; and all had experienced some real disappointment when, at the place where a complete text was supposed to be found only shattered remains could be available.

The physical security of books in India is complicated by pride in ownership, gross ignorance of maintenance and repair procedures, and low-echelon custodial assistance. When poverty and illiteracy are imposed on that three-pronged complication, stray leaves of precious books are destroyed in the name of "neatness of the shelves", manuscripts or printed "old books" are offered for sale to wandering purchasers, or things are left

to gather dust and termites or rodents. These old books are very, very precious—as is evident by prices easily secured at the village level and the proportionately higher rate secured in cities and foreign countries. Even so, the prices are really not exorbitant when one realises that (except for school books) editions were rarely larger than five hundred copies before 1850, and even the old school books are today within the "very rare" category. The ringing plea in Patna was for Government (both Central and State) and for private financial support.

Though money is essential, one aspect of book security and preservation never seems to be mentioned: the men and the women to provide the security and preservation services day after day. This is understandable for few (if, indeed *any*) of the "scholars" have ever seen the details, the duties, and the records essential for library maintenance and operation. All the money in the world will not clean a book of its book worms, nor repair the damage they have caused. It requires people: people who (1) know what to do (2) with the appropriate repair materials (3) who may be trusted to complete the task efficiently in order to (4) clean the entire book collection in the (5) minimum of time.

But this kind of work means doing the actual *chore* and not calling an assistant who calls for his peon who calls his lesser servant *ad infinitum*. It requires pride in accomplishment of one of the manual arts, coupled with real literary learning.

Responsibility for the rehabilitation of India's libraries must be in the charge of a team of individuals who are as academically competent to judge the relative importance of various books and manuscripts as to direct and in some instances assist the technological maintenance and repair staff; who can grant priority to some work and delay to other: who can identify stray leaves or pictures as belonging to this or to that work; and who can discover the author/title/imprint of an incomplete book which seems to contain absolutely no identifiable clue in the few pages left to the library.

The experience of Raza Library, in what had been the capital of Rampur State, now part of Uttar Pradesh and about 120 miles east of Delhi, may be given. Nawwab Sayyid Faidullah

Khan Bahadur (d. 1794) became interested in book collecting. His successors added to the growing library of manuscripts and printed books in Persian, Arabic, Urdu, and English languages. In 1930 when His Highness Dr. Sir Sayyid Raza Ali Khan Bahadur came to the throne modernisation of the book collection began.

Mr. J. A. Chapman, on retirement as Librarian, Imperial Library (now National Library) of Calcutta, came to Rampur and remained five years. A promising young Arabic/Persian scholar, Imtiyaz Ali Khan "Arshi", was selected to become Mr Chapman's student and eventually librarian. They studied modern library administration and the care and cataloguing of a very special oriental library. During these years a massive book-preservation programme was commenced. Between 1932 and 1947, fifteen binders and their many helpers were employed full-time at the Raza Library Bindery. Every book, every pamphlet, every manuscript, every fragment was cleaned, repaired using ordinary *rice gum with poison added.*

Time passed. Mr Arshi's son, Akbar Ali Khan Arshizadah, became interested in languages and literatures and is today his father's closest assistant. In their own way, each man is a scholar. The older gentleman is a master bibliographer and is busy completing a twelve-volume *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Raza Library.* Of the Arabic series, Volumes I-III are available, and the fourth should be completed late this year (1970) ; then will follow two more Arabic parts ; the Urdu and the Persian citations will be in Volumes VII-XII. Akbar Ali Khan is assisting the publication, administering the library, and assisting scholars—two or three of whom are usually in constant daily attendance.

To find Raza Library housed in what had been the Hall of Audience of the Rampur Nawwabs was unexpected—though I had become accustomed to surprises during my years of hunting old book collections in India. But to find the beautifully preserved and lovingly administered rare books was of greater moment. It amply re-inforced my contention that air-conditioning is not the answer to India's books and libraries problems : the answer is constant, active, and intensive human care.

Obviously this kind of treatment requires money, and the

Chapman/Arshi programme had the wealth of the throne at its command. But the cost is really far less than most people are willing to think. The materials are not costly, the tools are chiefly easily obtainable or may be locally made, one large paper cutting machine may be required---but the binders of the olden days had none ! Labour costs depend entirely upon the size of the operation, and for Rs. 2000 per month a good amount of very substantial work may be completed if it be both well-planned and well-supervised. Along with the joy of having old books in a library is the responsibility for their care : this is posterity's heritage.

We are grateful to the historians and scholars of Bihar for their contributions to the fund of bibliographical information. This seminar could not have been held without the approval and the support of the A.I.I.S. Calcutta Center. The benefits of being together and talking together will, we hope, lead not only to further conversations, but to some very adequate measures for book repair, book security, and to libraries which may be more easily available for serious research.

Calcutta
August 31, 1970

KATHARINE SMITH DIEHL

CONTENTS

SOME PRIVATE AND PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF RECORDS RELATING TO BIHAR

QEYAMUDDIN AHMAD

IN Bihar, as in some other states, there were a number of *zamindar* (land-owning) families whose origins can be traced to the 16th century or even earlier. Possessing large estates continuously over a long period of time, the scions of these families enjoyed considerable local influence and power and are frequently mentioned in the medieval chronicles as *rajas*, *ra'is*, and *zamindars*. Their relations with the Mughal government varied from time to time. The majority of these local chiefs were suppressed by the different *subahdars* during the course of the establishment of Mughal rule in Bihar but they were generally reinstated subject to their acceptance of Mughal authority. The relations between the two were not always peaceful however ; from time to time the local chiefs defied the Mughal authority and fought against the subahdars.

One result of their long contact with the Mughal government, both friendly and hostile, was the accumulation of a large, varied collection of records, such as *farmans* for grants of land or conferment of other honours, *nishans* or letters from princes and other dignitaries regarding diverse political matters, diplomatic dispatches, etc. Besides, there must have been records relating

to land revenue administration of their own estates.

In some of the bigger estates rudimentary arrangements existed for storing and preserving the records; but much from these valuable collections has been lost due to lack of adequate arrangements for, and interest in, their preservation. Unlike records preserved in government archives, these private collections deserve prior attention because—in addition to the damage already caused by time and climate—we have to take note of another recent development. After the abolition of *zamindari* in 1952 and the consequent financial distress to which most of these families were reduced, the expenditure on staff and establishment of the *Mahafiz Khana* (Record Rooms) maintained by some of them was also much reduced, and these collections are now suffering increased neglect and rapid ruination. During the course of exploration work as a member of the Regional Records Survey Committee, Bihar,[1] I had an occasion to examine two such collections: those of Darbhanga and Bettiah Raj, and a brief account of these is given below.

I. COLLECTIONS OF PERSIAN RECORDS IN DARBHANGA AND BETTIAH RAJ

The Darbhanga Raj[2] has a full-fledged *Mahafiz Khana* of Persian records.[3] These are arranged in dockets, as in the District Record Rooms, and a number of dockets are tied together in a bundle of red or saffron cloth. The majority of these records relate to the *zamindari* affairs of the estate and are arranged *parganawise* (by units). The older documents, mostly original *farmans, sanads,* and *mahzarnamas,*[4] are kept separately in the Raj Treasury while their copies are kept in the record room. In an article published earlier I have examined in detail[5] some documents of the latter category and their relevance to the regional history of Bihar. Briefly, it may be stated that these documents show that between 1574 and 1666 the scions of the Darbhanga Raj gradually rose into a position of eminence. The process started with the appointment of Mahesh Thakur, founder of the family's fortunes, as a land revenue officer of the Mughal Government and culminated in 1666 with the conferment upon one of his descendants, Mahinath Thakur, of the *Sadr Zamindari*

of 102 *parganas* spread over what were then the provinces of Bihar and Bengal.

Bihar had been brought under stable Mughal rule after 1574, and the light furnished by these early records on the actual working of land revenue administration in Bihar is very useful.

The Bettiah Raj[6] also has a fairly organised *Mahafiz Khana* with a large collection[7] of records : the earlier ones are mostly in Persian, but there are many registers written in Kaithi Hindi too. The records are arranged, as at Darbhanga, in dockets and bundles. There are some bound Registers, titled "Lists" giving brief description of the different series ; these "Lists" are serially numbered and are useful for an understanding of the different types of records.

The more important records (from the Raj's point of view) labelled "Daul Papers" are kept separately in an iron safe. These relate to earlier grants conferred upon the *rajas* and the grants made by the *rajas* themselves. Unfortunately the *farmans* and *sanads* of the 17th century, some of which are referred to and reproduced in the printed history of the Raj in English by M. L. Bose,[8] are not available now.

Later records of different types are preserved in bound registers. A few of these series are mentioned below :

One register contains 350 letters written by Raja Rajendra Kishore Singh (1855-83) to different European indigo planters in the district during 1862-63. They provide authentic information on the oppressive ways and methods of planters, and show that some of the Bettiah rajas, contrary to the generally held image, often interceded on behalf of their *ra'iyats* (cultivators). These letters form, really, the prologue to the stirring drama of the famous Champaram *satyagraha* under the leadership of Gandhiji.

Another register contains letters written by the same Raja to his subordinate revenue staff and agents in Patna, Benaras, and Gorakhpur. Covering 1856-58, they relate to the administration of revenue matters, border disputes with Nepal, thefts of cattle across borders, supply of provisions to the British and Nepalese armies, etc. Another register contains copies of letters issued during 1828-29 to different contemporary personages, including

the district officials and the British Resident in Nepal. Yet another register, covering 1860-61, contains abstracts[9] of petitions submitted by various subordinate staff of the Raj and the abstracts of orders passed on each of these.

Mention may be made here of some published accounts of such families. One such account, by M. L. Bose, has been referred to above. A more important example is provided by the work entitled *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainiya*, Vols. I-IV, by Vinayak Prasad. Written in Urdu and published in 1898, this voluminous work gives an account of the Ujjainia Rajputs, particularly of the branch to which the Rajas of Dumraon[10] and Jagdishpur (ancestors of Kunwar Singh) belonged. Such works were prepared at the instance of some member of the family and are generally laudatory, but they are useful in so far as they reproduce the texts of many old documents which are not available now. The *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainiya* particularly contains texts of a large number of such documents of the 17th century onwards.

Attention may also be drawn to the large number of smaller collections belonging to individuals of lesser eminence. Such collections are to be found in almost all districts of the state and they are mostly in a very neglected condition. Several such collections were examined jointly by Professor S. H. Askari and me on behalf of the Regional Records Survey Committee, and brief reports[11] on these are available in the printed annual reports of the Committee from 1958 onwards. As a group, these collections can yield useful information on provincial history.

II. COLLECTIONS OF AKHBARAT

The *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla* (Newsletters of the Exalted Court) represent a series of far greater and wider importance. The *Akhbarat* were Court Bulletins containing the daily records of the Emperor's engagements and orders, appointments, promotions, transfers and demotions of officers, abstracts of news reports, and the dispatches received from different parts of the kingdom, plus miscellaneous matters of varied interest. The daily entries were made by a set of scribes and checked by higher officers before submission of the draft for the emperor's approval and preparation of final copy. Being something like an official

gazette, copies of the *Akhbarat* were made by the agents of leading nobles, *rajas*, and *subahdars* posted in the Court and transmitted to their respective masters. The agents were also sent separate dispatches containing information on matters of specific interest to their masters. Such collections of *Akhbarat* and dispatches must have existed in the courts of the numerous ruling chiefs and at the provincial headquarters—but almost all such collections are now lost, except those preserved in some of the Rajput states of medieval India, particularly in the old Jaipur State archives. These latter were brought to notice for the first time in 1923 by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. The interesting story of their discovery and transcription for Sir Jadunath's personal collection need not be repeated here ;[12] more relevant for our purpose is a description of the size and content of the holdings.[13] Sir Jadunath was primarily interested in the reign of Aurungzeb. He got the *Akhbarat* of that period (1658-1707) sorted, transcribed, and arranged in two sets of volumes. The first set, comprising seven volumes, covers 1900 pages of foolscap size. The second, of eighteen volumes, covers 6000 pages and contains, besides the *Akhbarat*, the correspondence between the Jaipur rulers and Mughal officers at the centre and in Jaipur state. The first two volumes of the second set contain records of an earlier period, 1640-1660 ; and the rest relate to 1680-1707.[14]

The work of transcribing the Jaipur collection of *Akhbara* for the subsequent period was carried on by Dr. Raghubir Singh who, having obtained permission from the State government, got the *Akhbarat* of the period 1707-19 transcribed.[15] These cover about 2300 folios ; besides there are some *Akhbarat* of the regnal years 5, 9, and 15 of Muhammad Shah's reign (1719-48).

The importance of this vast primary source does not require emphasis. It is fully brought out by a perusal of *History of Aurungzeb, Vols. I-V*, by J. N. Sarkar (Calcutta, 1912-24) ; W. Irvine's *Later Mughals, 1707-39, Vols. I-II,* ed. by J. N. Sarkar (Calcutta, 1922) ; and *Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vols. I-IV*, by J. N. Sarkar (Calcutta, 1932-50). But the utility of the *Akhbarat* has by no means been exhausted ; there is still much which can be used profitably for reconstructing the provincial history of Bihar, as of other states. That Sir Jadunath himself was cons-

cious of this aspect of the *Akhbarat* is shown by the fact that he got the entries relating to Bihar and Bengal transcribed in a separate volume. This along with the other volumes of the *Akhbarat* transcripts is now preserved in the National Library, Calcutta, to which the Sarkar Collection has been donated.

The original *Akhbarat* have since been made available for study, and have been centralised in the Rajasthan State Archives. Copies of a large number of *Akhbarat*, particularly of the early period, are now available at Patna too. These were procured recently for the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna,[16] directly from the Rajasthan Archives. Earlier, I also examined the Sarkar transcripts in the National Library, Calcutta, and procured some copies for the Jayaswal Institute.

Mention may be made here of another later series of *Akhbarat* belonging to some public collections in England[17] of the twenty-three volumes, sixteen belong to the India Office Library, five to the British Museum, and two to the Bodleian Library, Oxford. These were noticed by Dr. Raghubir Singh in 1937 and he obtained transcripts covering 5000 folios of different sizes.[18] For the period 1785 to 1818, this series contains "collections of newsletters, or the abstracts and compendiums of different newsletters received at various centres from *different capitals or camps, noteworthy towns and cities and other places of political importance in the country*". As in the case of the earlier series, these records have been partly used by Sir Jadunath but "only so far as they relate to his [Sir Jadunath's] theme of the Delhi Central Government". It would be evident from the italicised portion of the extract above that the series can still yield much additional material on aspects of provincial history.

III. SOME PERSIAN RECORDS IN THE DISTRICT RECORD ROOMS

Finally, we may notice some historically valuable Persian records preserved in the Muzaffarpur District Record Room.[19] These are kept in a double-lock almirah,[20] which is the type found in other district rooms too. The contents of these almirahs vary from district to district but some of the records mentioned below[21] are to be found in most of them.

A. *Bahi Hoshiyar Jung (Register of Hoshiyar Jung)*. These

revenue records of the province of Bihar were prepared in 1772 under the orders of George Vansittart, entitled "Hoshiyar Jung", Chief of the Revenue Council of Patna. They were bound in four separate volumes—each relating to a district. The Registers, being very valuable and constantly referred to, were ordered transcribed by the Board of Revenue in 1822 with a copy supplied to each district record room. The transcript was made under the supervision of Tilghman, Secretary of the Board of Revenue, and each page of the transcript bears the initial of the copyist and the examiner. The first volume of the Register contains the *Jama 'wasilbāqī*[22] papers of the year 1772 for the *parganas* included in what was then Tirhut district; the second volume contains the same papers for certain parganas of the "Behar" (old spelling and name for Patna district) district which were transferred to Tirhut.

B. *Statement of Minhai (rent free) villages in the Tirhut District.* The problem of *minhai* (literally meaning *deducted* or *excluded*) or rent-free lands was one of the early difficulties faced by the revenue administrators of the East India Company. Such grants had been made for various purposes by a number of authorities from the King down to petty *zamindars* over a long period of time; the existence of such tenures meant much loss of revenue to the Company to which the collection of land revenue was assigned by the famous grant of *Diwani*. The problem was tackled in stages: in 1793, Regulation XXXVII was passed for trying the validity of the titles of persons holding such lands. Under Section XX of the Act, the Collectors called upon the holders of such tenures to get themselves registered by a particular date. These papers were prepared in connection with the provision of this section and they contain an account of the *minhai* lands in the different *parganas* of *sarkar* Hajipur[23] under the following headings: i, Nature of grant, whether *Altamgha*[24] or *Ai'mma*[25]; ii, Name of the grantor; iii, Name of original grantee; iv, Date of grant; v, Name of present holder, if he be not the original grantee his relationship to the latter; vi, Name of villages or *mahals* in which the land is situated; vii, Name of the *zamindar* or other proprietor of the *mahal* or village included in the grant, and whether such *zamindari* or

proprietory rights shall be vested in the grantee or any other person ; viii, Area of each *mahal* or village included in the grant ; ix, Copy of the original document of grant or such writing under which the land is held.

C. *Registers of Qanungo's Reports.* There are two, complementary, sets of Registers: one containing the *Parwanas* (Letters, Orders) from district officers to the *Qanungos* seeking information on various matters of police or revenue administration, and the other containing the reports submitted by the *Qanungos.* There are three Registers in the first series, and two in the latter. One Register of the latter series contains the full texts of the *Qanungo's* reports, while the other had abstracts of such reports. The reports relate to the year 1824 and deal with such matters as collection of revenue, measurement and mutation of land-holdings, appointments and dismissals of lower revenue officers, thefts, cattle-stealing, etc.

D. *Farmans, Sanads,* and *Parwanas.* There are 139 *Farmans,* the earliest being a Farman of Jahangir (1605-27) dated A.H. 1020 (1611-12 A.D.); 463 *Sanads* of *subahdars* and other provincial officers and *zamindars ;* and 216 *Parwanas.* Unfortunately these documents have been removed from the connected papers. Probably they were collected in connection with the *minhai* registers, mentioned above. A patient examination of the two sets of papers might establish the connecting links, and provide information on the revenue history of the villages concerned.

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1. An advisory body on archival matters, appointed by the Government of Bihar, the Committee conducts exploration tours of the interior areas of the state for surveying and salvaging private collections of records and manuscripts.
2. The Darbhanga Raj estates comprised lands situated in Bhagalpur, Darbhanga, Gaya, Monghyr, Muzaffarpur. and Purnea districts, amounting to 2400 square miles. Its rent roll exceeded 32 lakhs of rupees; see District Gazetteer, Darbhanga, by P. C. Roy Chaudhury (Patna, 1964).
3. The English records, beginning from about 1860, are housed in a separate building. These, particularly the records

relating to educational matters, have been examined by Dr. Jatashankar Jha, Research Fellow, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. For reports on these see *Annual Reports on Regional Records Survey Committee, Bihar : 1957-58*, onwards.

4. Sort of an affidavit, testifying to the truth of a particular recorded statement. The testimony was given by the gentries of the locality both Muslim and Hindu, and the document bore their signatures and seals.
5. See article entitled "Origin and Growth of Darbhanga Raj (1574-1666)". *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, XXXVI, 1961, pp. 89-98. [Hereafter cited as *PIHRC*.]
6. The Bettiah Raj estate comprised lands situated in the Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Patna, and Saran districts of Bihar; and the Allahabad, Basti, Banaras. Fyzabad, Gorakpur, and Mirzapur districts of Upper Provinces/Uttar Pradesh, totalling 1,443,073 acres. Its annual collection of rent and cesses amounted to 29 lakhs of rupees. It has been under Court of Wards since 1896 ; see *District Gazetteer, Champaran*, by P. C. Roy Chaudhury (Patna, 1960).
7. A brief account of the collection was published by me earlier; see *PIHRC*, XXXVII, 1962, pp. 8-13.
8. M. L. Bose served as Record Keeper of the Bettiah Raj and utilised some of the early records preserved in the Raj Archives. Copies of his book are now scarce, but one is available in the Record Room.
9. The fact that the letters of each year are serially numbered and that abstracts were maintained indicates the advanced archival sense of the Raj authorities.
10. Another important and old land-holding family in Shahabad district of Bihar. It has a separate record room, but I have not examined the collection.
11. Information on similar work done by other members of the Committee is also contained in these reports.
12. See "Transcripts from Records in the Jaipur State Archives", by Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Singh. *PIHRC*, XV, 1938, pp. 12-20.
13. These details have been taken from the article mentioned above.
14. Earlier, James Tod, author of *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vols. I-II* (Calcutta, 1884) had taken away on loan some *Akhbarat* from Jaipur and presented them to the

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London. These comprise twenty volumes and include *Akhbars* of Aurangzeb's reign (regnal years 3 to 49, with some gaps). Subsequently, copies of these *Akhbars* were procured by Sir Jadunath and Dr. Raghubir Singh and are now available in their respective collections at Calcutta and Sitamau.

15. *PIHRC,* XV, 1938, p. 15. These are in the personal collection of Dr. Raghubir Singh at Sitamau, and he supplied copies of them to Sir Jadunath.

16. This valuable work is being done by Mr. B. P. Ambasthya, Research Fellow of the Institute.

17. For details, see articles entitled, "The Persian Akhbarat of 1779-1818 A.D." by Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Singh. *PIHRC,* XVI, 1939, pp. 140-49. Dr. Singh does not state whether these are originals or transcripts, nor from whence they came; but probably they too had originally belonged to the Jaipur Collection. I have not personally examined the collection, but its relevance to Bihar studies for the period covered by them is quite obvious.

18. For a rough chronological analysis of the above collection, see pp. 148-49 of the article referred to above.

19. The records mentioned here belong to one particular district record room, but more or less similar sets of records are available in other district record rooms. In some cases, the records have been removed to the State Central Records Office, Patna.

20. So-called because of the two locks put on them. One set of keys is kept by the magistrate in charge of the record room, and the almirahs are to be opened only in his presence.

21. For further details see my article "Some Historically Valuable Persian Records." *Journal of Bihar Research Society,* XLI, 1955, pp. 512-18.

22. Land revenue account of the Government, with entries of payments received and the arrears.

23. Hajipur was one of the seven *sarkars* comprising the *subah* (province) of Bihar as organised by Akbar. It included much of the area now within Muzaffarpur district.

24. Introduced by Jahangir, it denoted a special tenure granted under the royal, golden, seal. Later the term was used loosely to describe rent-free grants of land.

25. Grants of lands for subsistence.

POST-MUTINY PRIMARY SOURCES FOR BIHAR STUDIES

V. C. P. CHAUDHARY

In this present paper I propose to indicate briefly various sources for the history of modern Bihar which I have used during the course of my research on various topics. They may be arranged in this manner :

Printed and Published Sources

A. Government records

1. Proceedings of the Government of India and of Bengal, various departments
2. Proceedings of the Council, and Parliament
3. Various Commission Reports, as Famine Commission
4. Annual administrative reports
5. Letters to and from the Secretary of State for India
6. Gazettes
7. Files of Governments
8. Census reports of India
9. District gazetteers
10. Imperial gazetteer
11. Statistical annuals of Bengal

12. Statistical accounts of Bengal
13. Survey and Settlement reports
14. Reports on moral and material progress
15. Buchanan's journals and Reports on Bhagalpur, Gaya, etc.
16. Linguistic survey of India
17. Proceedings of the Indian National Congress. Land-holder's Association. etc.
18. Government of India Acts
19. Financial statements of the Government of India
20. Proceedings of the Public Service Commission
21. Parliamentary Papers
22. Calcutta High Court Records

B. Newspapers
   1. Reports of native papers
   2. Vernacular newspapers
   3. English newspapers
   4. Journals in both English and the vernaculars

C. Historical books which would include
   Autobiographies, Travel accounts, Histories, Economic studies, Political thought, Memoirs, Biographies, etc.

D. Literary works which would include
   Novels, Poems, Dramas, Stories, etc., both in English and the vernaculars

Unpublished Sources, part printed and part not printed

A. Files of various Governments
B. Proceedings of various Governments
C. Records of the District Collectors and Judges
D. Records of Commissioners

Private Papers, usually not printed

A. Private papers of foreign service personnel, as Lytton. Hamilton, Ripon, Minto; usually to be found in Great Britain.
B. Private collections of various Bihari aristocratic families and individuals, as Darbhanga, Hathua, Dumraon. Tekari, Sheopur, Bettiah, Banailli

C. Collections of Christian missionaries and other religious institutions
D. Bihari folk lore
E. Unpublished manuscripts of poems, stories, etc.
F. Collections and proceedings of social and political associations

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Considering the relevance of various sources for purposes of research, one is inclined to conclude that all those mentioned above are both important and generally relevant. If the details on any topic are supplied by reading records of government, it sometimes fails to reveal the truth until private papers are scrutinised. We are informed by the records of the Government that a separate province of Bihar was to be created for the administrative convenience of the region and in accordance with the wishes of the Biharis, but the truth remained that it was a Machiavellian design to prolong the lease of the life of British imperialism—a fact which we could accurately grasp only on the basis of private papers.[1] Similarly the details of regional development in Bihar could not be fully ascertained without consulting the private collections of individuals, Christian missionaries, religious institutions, and social and political associations. Folk lores and literary works would help in analysing the attitude of the society towards various contemporary matters. If the records of the Government help us in the knowledge of the actions of the Government, the other sources would decidedly enlighten us with the reactions of the cross-section of the people. For historical evaluation, proper examination of action and reaction in both chronological and logical order should be imperative.

In view of this standard, the importance of newspapers and literary works as the source material is highly increased at least as the barometer of the reaction of society towards numerous social, religious, political and economic problems. It is for this purpose that we could take the help of newspapers, journals, autobiographies, memoirs, other contemporary political or social interest writings. How could we come to the right conclusion without consulting them if we were to analyse problems such

as the demand for a representative Government ;[2] the end of imposition of taxes, or their abandonment without the consent of the people ; appointment in the service without distinction of caste, creed, colour or race ; the demands of labour, or of agricultural banks ; the request to check the oppression of Mahajans ; demand for prohibition, facilities for higher education, revision in the policy of manufacturing of salt ; opportunities for the growth of Indian capital ; the end of the drain on Indian wealth : demand for the expulsion of European planters and landholders ?[3] Similarly it would be difficult to understand the demand of the boycott of foreign goods, the demand to start cotton mills in India and to use *swadeshi* goods, the demand of *Panchayati Raj*, and the desire to arrest the growth of population by self-imposed restraint, etc., without consulting these sources.

Literary works—both in vernacular and foreign languages—should be treated as an important primary source for any historical research. We can hardly ignore literary figures like Kipling, Disraeli, and others who represented a particular set of ideas in the contemporary society. Kipling's urge for the expansion of the British Empire and his strategy formulated for the same[4] through poems, stories, etc., were the yearnings of British Imperialists and should be treated as such. Similar status should be assigned to Disraeli.[5] We should regard *Nil Darpan* without deference as a primary source, for this and similar works depicted contemporary society.

As regards the relevance of different sources it would be difficult to pronounce any rigid judgment. For the reconstruction of the history of modern Bihar all of them are important and, in fact, should be treated as complimentary to one another. Any history based on any single primary source could hardly be complete and authentic. These sources should not be tapped in isolation, but utilised as supplementary to one another in the reconstruction of the real history of modern Bihar.

Before I conclude, I must congratulate the organisers of the seminar not only for holding it but also for directing our attention towards an historical problem which badly needs the authoritative patronage of the public, the Government, and various institutions to preserve the sources of the history of

Bihar intact. It must be known to our scholars that some of our sources are not within our access and that the availability of them to scholars entirely depends upon the whims of the managers and the proprietors of those old aristocratic houses, Christian and other religious institutions, who—I am afraid—are generally reluctant to make them available for historical scrutiny for reasons best known to themselves alone. Should we remain satisfied by not consulting those sources for our historical researches or should the Government machinery step in to make them available for historical scrutiny are the questions which may not be legitimately discussed within the scope of this seminar but could certainly be taken note of by scholars who have assembled here.

Similar is the problem of the preservation of the available sources. We have still many unrecorded traditional folk songs which are very important for the reconstruction of our history. Vigorous efforts must be made to get these recorded before they die out. It is true that the Government has been spending some money on the scheme for the preservation of records and other historical sources; but could any of us assembled here make claim that the money is spend prudently for such preservation, that the people at the helm of affairs are really competent persons who could visualise concretely any solid scheme for preservation of these invaluable sources, that the amount spent on such schemes is not carelessly spent without keeping in view the purpose of the scheme? I am conscious of the scope of the seminar subject and cannot strictly claim to discuss these problems here. But who can deny that the solution to these problems is essential for the proper preservation and utilisation of the primary sources of modern Bihar's history? I, therefore, venture to draw your attention towards the deplorable state of affairs and request you to make concerted efforts to find proper solution. If we cannot discuss the problem right now because of the limitation of the nature of this seminar, we should certainly be seized with the problem at the earliest possible moment in order to avoid further deterioration of the printed and manuscript materials. It would be advisable to associate in this deliberation, officers who are immediately concerned with the adminis-

tration and preservation of archives in order to understand the historical importance of these rather non-current records which are rarely used for day-to-day administrative purposes.

Thank you for giving me a patient hearing.

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1. Minto, Papers, Box No. 230, series 3 (National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh). Butler to Minto, 21st December, 1911 and 13th May, 1912. "In India generally it is looked on as a diabolically clever move to draw the fangs of Bengal. It is time that we dropped the Bengali infection, and conducted the government, in a less emotional and charged atmosphere...hoping that the uniting of Bengal would isolate the province from the rest of India and reduce its influence for ever...it was better on the whole to reunite them and sever Bihar, and let the two Bengals stew in their own juice instead of affecting the whole of India".
2. *Bharat Bhritya,* 11th Falgoon, 1873. "A representative Council was formed in the country some years ago but the good that was expected from it has not been realised. It remains a representative Council in name only. The Governor-General's Council is composed of high officers of the State, wealthy European gentlemen, and wealthy Rajas. One Bengali gentleman of high position has recently had a seat given him in Council. These members are all wealthy men, wise men...But it would be difficult to determine whom they represent. Government officers may represent the Government; great merchants may represent the merchants, the great Rajas may represent the Rajas, the wealthy Baboos may represent the wealthy Baboos. But the question that presents itself is—How many Rajas are there in this country ...The poor cultivators and the day labourers form the larger part of the population and that not in this country only, but in all countries. The prosperity of the land depends upon their well-being. But neither in the Governor-General's Council nor in that of the Lt. Governor is there a single person who really represents them; and leaving aside the question of representation, we doubt if there is a man in these Councils who really understands the condition of the common people. The men who ride carriages and palanquins and fare sumptiously, and who are never anxious respecting the morrow, who have never

since their birth, had a day's anxiety—how can they represent the common people? Can these children of fortune tell what the distresses of the poor are; what oppresions they have to suffer; what laws would promote their comfort; and the abolition of what others would bring relief; what taxes are pressing the life out of them?...Why the roofs of their houses are without that chug and the walls without mud plustering; why, though they toil night and day, they never have food to eat or clothes to wear...Men who have not shared the distress of the poor, who have never been in association with the common people, how can they know what the real condition of things is? Of men taken from the ranks of the common people, there is not one in either Council...The people must themselves elect their own representatives. If, therefore, the Government seeks, with a view to our welfare, to organise a representative Council, and if it wants to be in the possession of the mind of the people then let it select men from among the common people. The country will by this means be benefited, and the wishes of the Government will be realized".

3. *The Times of India*, 19th January, 1863. "So settled is the belief that India is to derive immense advantages from the enterprise of the English planters, that it is almost dangerous to venture upon an investigation of its grounds. And yet nothing can be more superficial than popular impressions upon the point...almost all the direct advantages of this enterprise are claimed by the planter himself...the direct ones...are by no means of the magnitude popularly assigned them. The successful growth of a new export in the cultivated lands of a country, enhances the value of its whole area; not so on the growth of a new export upon its wastes. In the former case the export displaces less remunerative crops; and contracting the acreage under food, will raise the value of all descriptions of produce together, to the indefinite advantage of the agriculturist. In the case of hill wastes, however, brought under cultivation with products that cannot be grown in the plain, it seems certain that the agriculturist class will lose all that the mere labouring class gain. by the increased demand for labour... The demand for labour upon the hill population, will make labour dearer in the plain...The labourer will gain...as

the expense of the farmers, who will find the cost of cultivation proportionately enhanced. Thus almost the only advantage the tea and coffee planter's presence brings with it, is counterbalanced by the injury it inflicts on the agriculturists of the plains.

"The cultivation of tea and coffee in the hills, makes the cost of producing cotton and linseed in the plains greater than it was before...and places the producer at disadvantage, in competing with the agriculture of other lands... The Planter in 19 cases out of 20 will be an 'absentee landlord' drawing a large revenue from India and spending it in England...however, the day is not distant when the plantations will pass by purchase into native hands...The purchase money, however, will find its way sooner or later in Europe;...the whole profits go to enrich not her own *children but aliens. The argument that their presence in* India will 'exercise a very important and beneficial influence upon the education, and the entire future of the people' is far from the truth in view of the conditions of Bengal, Assam and Cachar. The truth is the present period is one of undue reaction. In our revulsion against the old and exclusive policy of the East India Company at the root of which a true instinct lay, we have gone into the opposite extreme, and are now identifying the casue of progress and prosperity with European enterprise therein. Whenever the native and the European meet on equal terms, there we think advantage must result to the former from the contact. But that this will be where the native is the more dependent on the former, we doubt. He (Europeans) is here for the mere purpose of personal gain, and will take all he lawfully may and, if a bad man sometimes, more than he lawfully may. He is induced, moreover, with the self-assertion of his race and knows how to make himself heard, if he is injured. His presence is not of value to us".

4. *Many Inventions* Vol. I (1905), p. 105. "One view of the question." In one of his stories he explained that the Indian National Congress was dangerous and was like the king Frishta, who "eaten with the scabs of long idleness, plucks off his crown and danced naked among the dunghills. But I have not forgotten the profitable end of the tale. The Vazir set him upon a horse and led him into a battle.

Presently his health returned and he caused [a motto] to be engraven on the crown." The prophecy came cruelly true.

Letters of Travel. (1920), p. 237. Kipling wanted America to help Britain in the imperial expansion and invited her in his poem "The White Man's Burden" to join the venture. Again, Kipling was faced with American democracy which prevented her from taking Britain's side openly. At last Kipling showed his wrath towards the American system of government. Universal franchise in U.S.A. was a curse. "He [a voter in U.S.A.] may not know how to run his own business, control his wife or instil reverence into his children, he may be a pauper, half-crazed with drink, bankrupt, dissolute or merely a born fool, but he has a vote. If he likes, he can be voting most of his time".

American Notes. p. 41. He knew that the Irish Home Rule Bill would weaken the Empire and he opposed it vehemently. Because it "broke the pledged faith of generations; it officially recognised sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion; it subsidised the secret forces of boycott, intimidation and murder; and it created an independent stronghold in which all these forces could work together as they have always and openly boasted that they would for the destruction of Great Britain." His fear was genuine that other national movements would gain momentum.

5. Disraeli. *Tamind, or The New Crusades.* (1904), pp. 263, 411, and 141. "Let the queen of the English collect a great fleet, let her stow away all her treasure, bullion, gold plate, and precious arms; be accompanied by all her court and chief people, and transfer the seat of her Empire from London to Delhi. There she will find an immense empire ready made. a first-class army, and a large revenue. In the meantime, I will arrange with Mehemel Ali. He shall have Bagdad and Mesopotamia, and pour the Bedoueen cavalry into Persia. I will take care of Syria and Asia Minor. The only way to manage the Afghans is by Persia and by the Arabs. We will acknowledge the Empress of India as our Suzerain, and secure for her the Levantine Court. If she likes, she shall have Alexandria as she now has Malta; it could be arranged. Your queen is young; she has an avenir. Aberdeen and Sir Peel will never give her this

advice; their habits are formed. They are too old, too rusty. But, you see, the greatest empire that ever existed; besides which gets rid of the embarrassment of her chambers; and quite practicable; for the only difficult part, the conquest of India, which baffled Alexander, is all done".

The passage hardly needs explanation. The scheme sketched above shows the importance attached by Disraeli to the title of the Empress of India in the furtherance of his imperialistic designs. It is curious that Disraeli took early opportunity in translating his ideas into action, and exactly the same title was adopted which was mentioned in the novel.

As Russia was anxious to encourage her own industries, she imposed heavy protective duties on such foreign goods as she herself produced. Therefore, Britain was anxious to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman Empire even in defiance of the public opinion because it was feared that Russia would not allow free trade in those parts of the Ottoman Empire which would be possessed by her in case of its dismemberment, whereas the Ottoman Empire did not put any restrictions. "I suppose the Russians interfere with your markets...The English will not do the business of the Turks for nothing. They will take the city; they will keep it. They want a new market for their cottons. Mark me. England will never be satisfied till the people of Jerusalem wear calico turbans...The East is a career".

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AND INTRODUCTION OF TYPE PRINTING TO SOUTH ASIA

KATHARINE SMITH DIEHL

SEA-FARING peoples have been world travellers—as birds and winds have carried seeds of trees, shrubs, herbs, and flowers—sailors have carried language and bits of oral tradition from place to place.

Not to belittle overland traders--caravans from Peking to Damascus or to Nizhni Novgorad have carried handicrafts, spices, and bits of oral tradition—but their way was without respite when they were simply carried along by the winds. The caravan travelled step-by-tiny-step all the long distance, during storm, cold, blinding heat, blistering snow and cold, endangered by animal and man.

When sailors stowed their goods, they remembered to have sufficient weight below deck to balance the strength of sail. I recall seeing a sea-wall and cotton warehouse (go-down) in Savannah, Georgia, built from rocks used to weight boats coming to the States for cotton. Stand on the seaside today, and identify ship-load after ship-load by the colour of the rock : red, grey, white, mottled, blue, granite, sandstone, quartz, fieldstone, and all the rest. Essential weight has had its literary influence : outgoing East Indiamen from Chinese ports were loaded with

cheap Chinese paper, eagerly purchased by Calcutta printers as a boon to the low-cost book trade, only to be despised by later generations because the stuff soon crumbled to powdery nothingness.

Iberians seem to have reached your land and mine about the same time. Their country of origin was small. Adventurers, accustomed to sea and tide and sailing ships, no matter where they went officially they had full support of government: the armed forces, finance ministry, cultural minister (the Church), and the crown. If products could be found for sale or for trade, their ventures were doubly blessed as the expedition cost could be met.

By the 1530s the Mexican colony was sufficiently secure to establish formal institutional life. The learned men in Europe were either royalty and titled gentlemen or clergy. The clergy (priests) were the educators, and had long held the reins in European universities. Naturally the recently popular printing machine was to be used in the new lands and by 1538 a man, his wife, his servant were ensconced in what is now called Mexico City under bond as printers and to remain for a very long period during which time they would receive a stipulated portion of the profits. Their first printed document was made that year. Though traces of very crude printing have been reported five or six years earlier, the 1538 success is proved.

One Master Francis, a Jesuit, had been to Goa, found an active trading community and wanted to introduce European education with books. Within a decade he had reported to both the Crown and the Church, action was started so that by 1556 about a dozen Portuguese religious reached the Diocese of Africa and Asia—landing in Goa with a printer, a printing press, types, and other things. That year was printed their first work. All copies have been lost, but contemporary records verify the completion of this first Indian imprint at Velho Goa, 1556. Until *Compendio spiritual,* printed 1561 by João Quinquencio and João de Endem at this same Velho Goa printshop which was in a side room of one of the large churches, every book and printed page has disappeared. A lone copy of *Compendio spiritual* is known to be in the Rare Book Room of the New York Public

Library. I tried to secure a microfilm of the book but was granted only a photograph of the title page on the plea that the book is too fragile to microfilm.

Comment : By legal and upright means, a microfilm edition of *Compendio spiritual* should be secured for India through the offices of Government of India. It is far more important to have copies of these early texts available for study than to keep any literary document as an artifact or potsherd. Lamination and other mothods of reassembling the book are possible, but let there be copies to be used by scholars.

Goa priests and their printers continued to write, to compose pages of types, and to print books. They had a Japanese in the Community who had learned printing—you recall that Master Francis, better known to us as St. Francis Xaxier, had been to Japan—and within a few years a joint venture was possible. At Goa in latin types and in Nagasaki in japanese letters a book was printed during the decade of the 1570s. The single known copy is not in India.

These Jesuits were convinced that local alphabets should be used in their educational work. Their type-founder succeeded in making a partial fount of letters when, following a very serious illness, he died. A year or two later they had another man trained, he more nearly completed a fount when he too fell ill and died. This was hardly success ! But it was this double disappointment *and only this* that caused the priests to use latin letters for the local languages in India. We could spend a long time talking about what might have been today's situation had these two early type-founders lived. The priests decided to purchase their types from Europe and accept the delay in delivery with good grace knowing that full fonts would arrive and that exact replacements could be secured. Their practicality was acceptable to Rome and for virtually a century transliteration continued. Deep in their hearts the priests in India knew that romanising could never make so neat nor so accurate a text as vernacular letters, and after a while they renewed the appeals for permission to make and to use Indian symbols.

Several very large and intricate books were printed at Velho Goa and at other places in Western India by the mission presses,

Those remaining in India in transliteration are to be found only in the Public Library, Panjim. The earliest is *Puranna do Sam Pedro,* by Fr. Stephen da Cruz (Goa, 1634). This copy is incomplete. It is a handsome book and fortunately a complete copy is to be found in Lisbon. The *Puranna,* or "The Life of St. Peter", was sung in the village homes in the manner of the Indian epics.

The earliest book I have seen using local alphabets is Ignacio Archimonio's 1677 printing of Fr. Roberto di Nobili's enormous *Catechism,* printed at Ambalacotta, known today as the sister city of Tinnevelly: Palayamkottai. Fr. di Nobili lived as did the South Indian Brahmans and is today at the head of the list of notable historical events in the Government of India's tourist folder of Madurai. Little known by the people of North India, he accomplished the manufacture of this very large five-volume *Catechism* within fifty miles of Cape Comorin when a far more simple demand was impossible to the type-founders of Netherlands. One of the Dutch governors, Rhede van Draakestein, had collected a massive file of drawings of plants and trees of the Malayam area, with descriptive commentaries, When he wished to include the Tamil depositions of several of his assistants in tamil letters it was found more expeditious to use copper plate drawings than types. This at the type capital of the world ! Modern linguists say that all three depositions are very poor, and that one is absolutely gibberish : letters duplicated and triplicated with no semblance of meaning, something quite readily seen by any perceptive reader.

Very faint traces of an attempt on the part of the English East India Company to introduce printing to Bombay in late 17th century seem to be found in records. Whether or not they ever imported a printing press, it is not possible to say. Certainly no India-printed documents from the last decades of the 17th century remain or have ever been reported from that city.

The next we can record with absolute certainty is Catholic printing (and Catholic printing of those years must always be considered as being tax-supported) in the Philippines. I have not found copies of these two 1703 books :

Tagala, by Fr. Domingo de los Santos. 2 v. (Tayabas,

Philippines, 1793) and

Compendio de la arte de lingua Tagala, by Fr. Gaspar de San Augustin. (Manila, 1703);

however I have discovered two later Tagala dictionaries in Calcutta:

Tagala, by Juan de Noceda. (Manila, 1754), and

Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala, by Fr. Balthasar Mariano Bonado Franciscano. (Sampalac, Manila, 1794).

Until the early 18th century, the history of printing in Asia east of the Indus is that of Church/State success. Goa was very soon smothered by a dreadful persecution, a period of distrust coupled with equally awful punishment. A nun told me that nowhere in the world was the Inquisition so terrible as in the very city where we were standing: Velho Goa! For a long time afterwards the Portuguese governors forbade the use of the press and not until many other foreigners had been successful in the Indian peninsula was it reestablished.

Several devout men of Western Europe, representing Protestant Christian governments, became interested in East India. All had had some experience in colonial ventures with men stationed abroad, and wished the environment of the homeland to become the environment overseas. One way was by education, and Protestantism had a strong argument for individual study and individual decision concerning things spiritual. But study to Europeans means *books*: printed books, not manuscripts. A perquisite for them was a printing press, types, printer, paper, and texts for reproduction. Of several such projects the earliest was organised with men and materials from Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Britain. Tranquebar's Danish Factory, lying on the coast south of Madras, was destination of Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, Henry Plutschow, and later of John Ernest Grundler. Upon arrival, Ziegenbalg assumed responsibility for Tamil and Plutschow for Portuguese. They lost no time wishing for types. Within a handful of years, Ziegenbalg was back at Halle's Lutheran Orphanage, the training centre for crafts and trades as well as for university education in secular and religious studies. He had types manufactured under his supervision and returned to Tranquebar with fonts of tamil letters, a printer

and paper, by the usual South Atlantic zig-zag route and thence around the Cape of Good Hope. On the way the printer was lost by accident, but Ziegenbalg and his materials arrived safely. Early 1713 the Lutherans reported that four Portuguese publications had been completed and within a few weeks their first Tamil book would be composed. Two copies of this first Tranquebar Tamil book are known, one is in India and the other in Eastern Europe. Of the Portuguese from this earliest ecumenical venture anywhere in the world, I have yet to find a single page. There may be some in Leipsic or Halle, but if any remain in India today they are well-hidden.

For a long time all European products required by the Royal Danish Mission at Tranquebar were carried gratis by English East India Company vessels. The only provision was that official cargo received preferential space. Whether the printers required a dozen reams of paper was of no consequence to loaders in Europe when their Directors' shipments were heavy but when the loads were light they were only too glad to have the Tranquebar boxes to increase their weight.

In contrast to the small tamil letters made by Ignacio Archimonio at Ambalacotta in 1677, those made to Ziegenbalg's specifications at Halle were enormous and extremely beautiful! It was suddenly realised that these large types used a tremendous quantity of paper and that the books were as prohibitive in size as in cost. For example their 1714 *Gospels and Acts,* which is about half of the *New Testament,* had only 21 lines to the page, and about 6″ × 8″ of printed matter. As a result they decided to reduce the type size and to erect a paper mill. Labour and pulp were easily available. This mill has long since disappeared but the street name recalls it: Paper Mill Road.

A few years later one Benjamin Schultz, also from Halle, arrived at Tranquebar. He became interested in other regional languages and, though he remained but briefly at the Royal Danish Mission, it was long enough to learn both Urdu and Telugu. Returning to Halle, he went immediately to the type foundry and had urdu and telugu letters prepared. His *Catechism* (1746) and *Rule of Life* (1747) in telugu types, and his *Grammatica Hindostanica* (1745) and *Psalter* (1747) in

urdu types are all to be found in India. The *Grammatica* gives some information in devnagari letters. Relations between Halle and Tranquebar were extremely close : even the fleur used at the two institutional presses, one in Europe and the other in South Asia, were identical. This Halle success preceded the Gilchrist era of Hindoostanee (an old name for Urdu language) by forty years ; and the era of Indian Telugu language printing by sixty years.

I'm not able to say exactly when printing ceased at Tranquebar. Books from 1713 to 1819 have been found, but by that latter date most of the work was being regularly done in Madras—chiefly at Vepery. The original Vepery property is still used as a printing establishment, a large one busy with both Church and confidential Government printing. It is the oldest press in virtually continuous operation in India, dating from before 1779 and always at the same location in the same building.

Review 18th century Colombo briefly. The Dutch had organised a Government Press for official business and Protestant (Lutheran) needs. In 1738 a *Confessional* or Prayer Book was published, and in 1739 the Gospels in sinhalese letters appeared. The *Gospels* is purported to be the first translation of any script into sinhalese, according to a note in the Carey Library copy. Little else seems to have appeared. While their Danish counterparts on the mainland were arranging fine public relations all around them and managed to print new books and reprint old ones, the Dutch in Ceylon did little more than a 1744 *Formula Book* and a 1748 *Gospels and Acts*.

Mid-18th century the French were having some trouble with their neighbours. A printing press had been imported but may never have been used : when however the French surrendered to the English, the printing press was given to the English Missionaries at Madras on condition that it was theirs to use except when Government requisitioned it for official purposes. Whether or not anything was printed by the Missionaries or by Government is difficult to say ; but in 1766 a piece of very rough printed matter without imprint appeared : *Orders, Rules and Regulations to be observed respecting the Troops on the Coast of Coromandel.* A copy of this document is in the University of Madras Library.

Numerous copies of *A Malabar and English Dictionary,* by the English Missionaries (known to have been Fabricius and Breithaupt) and printed at Vepery, Madras in 1779 are to be found. I have not seen the *Orders* and the *Dictionary* side by side, and nothing in my notes indicates what printing machine was used. There is plenty in my notes to indicate the great help received from Government by the Mission : their real estate in Vepery, other real estate in Cuddalore (south of Pondicherry), reams and reams of paper, type fonts, etc. Only occasionally was the emergency so great that they had to stop printing for lack of paper, but never did the Madras folks suggest erection of a paper mill.

The establishments mentioned had European tax support. Another deserves mention, this with Asian origin, and I have no reason to believe it was any less publicly supported than the others, for certainly the sponsoring agency had no competitor in the homeland. I speak of the Armenian Church and its printer-priests. At the press of Father Jacob Shamiriants an *Exhortation* in Armenian types was printed "in India, at the City of Madras, at the Cost of the said Jacob Shamiriants" in 1772. The learned priest had his own large manuscript ready for press and in 1773 it was completed. In this second publication he remarked in the colophon that there may be some errors for the Siamese assistants did not know the Armenian language.

Madras: 1766 perhaps, and 1772 certainly—1766 printing was in roman letters, and 1772 printing in armenians. Chronologically Bengal is next, and the earliest known book published in Bengal certainly had the blessing of the Honorable East India Company, but it was not printed at a public press. Halhed's experience getting his *Grammar of the Bengal Language* (Hughli, 1778) manufactured led interested persons to approach Government about the wisdom of a publicly owned printing press. It took a bit of doing, but the officials finally granted a one-year trial. This was repeated for the second one-year. Charles Wilkins who had master-minded the type-founding (with some good assistants to help him) for Halhed's work became the public printer. The earliest book I've found bearing the actual imprint —as distinguished from textual acknowledgement of the fact—

is Gladwin's *Compendious Vocabulary English and Persian printed by Charles Wilkins at Malda, in Bengal,* 1780. It was 1781 before *Insha-i-Herkern,* with the English and Persian pages facing each other, edited by Balfour, and printed by *Charles Wilkins, Superintendent of the Press, Calcutta.*

Despite the accord given by Bengalis to the Wilkins types for their language, it was actually his nastaliq font for Persian language which received heavy use. Twenty-one years passed between Halhed's book and the next major Bengali publication, one part of H. P. Forster's bi-lingual dictionary (Ferris and Co., Calcutta, 1779) ; whereas Francis Gladwin was using time and time again the persian letters alone, with latin letters, with devnagri, greeks, etc.

Wilkins had meanwhile gone back to England, taking his typographical interests with him. He organised a foundry at home, only to lose it by fire. Discouraged, it was almost twenty years before the East India Company could persuade him to try again—in order that books might be printed in England for use by the students at the new Haileybury College. This time, at the age of 55 years, he was completely successful, his types were sold internationally, and the books printed with them known as "printed with Wilkins types."

The story of East India Company support for printing and publishing is frequently told, especially the Bengal portion. For the other colonial government printing operations little information is available. Perhaps the English Company's support was greatest—just as was their investment, their territory, and the people involved. When all is considered it might be said that more could have been done by them between 1778—or was it really 1766?—and 1850, the year at which my own search closes. However, there is yet another aspect of assistance which may be suggested : their gift of a printing press as a political reward.

The first to be mentioned was established at the Palace in Tanjore. It functioned between 1806 and 1817, printing in both Marathi and Sanskrit, using official Company paper and types very peculiarly like Wilkins' types. The earliest book, *Aesop* in Marathi (1806), printed at Serfoji's Press which he called Nava Vidya Kala Midhi, is the only one of the known

publications not to be found in India. The other seven books, some of which resemble manuscripts with place for the threads at the centre of the printed page and bound with actual top and bottom wooden boards, and others resembling ordinary modern books with a hinge, are at Saraswaty Mahal Library. One or two are exquisitely illuminated, several have rubric letters, and all are beautifully printed.

The second instance of patronage is the Press of the King of Oudh, Ghazyuddin Hyder of Lucknow. A serious literary society was around the Oudh throne for several years before any page of print was formally published. During a period of approximately twenty years this royal house and its printing press was one of the greatest dictionary establishments anywhere in the world. The manuscript of *Haft Qulzum*, using old Arabic sources, became six volumes of dictionary plus one of Arabic grammar. Publication was completed in 1822 though work had started in 1814 when Ghazyuddin was Nawab. Perhaps a copy of *Haft Qulzum* is to be found somewhere in India with intact title pages; to this date I've found none. The India Office Library's two sets do have the pages, marked Vol. I and Vol. II; and the wording is entirely in English except the opening phrase meaning *Haft Qulzum*, the Arabic title which I use rather than the English *The Seven Seas.*

Before the next large dictionary, *Tajul Lughat*, began to be published—but certainly while it was being prepared by the dictionary committee—two Persian monographs were released. They served as a bridge between the classical language and the current Persian/Urdu of 19th century Lucknow. Then came three volumes of *Tajul Lughat* in types, followed by five volumes (or parts) in lithographic printing. There is no date, no place, no author, no press mentioned on a single page of these eight volumes. The books may be very easily identified, for the seal of the Royal Press which had been used on the upper margin of each *Haft Qulzum* page is used here; with lithography, there is evident and very rapid deterioration in the artistry. The human figures, the crown, the banners, the Islamic symbols, the fishes give way to very mundane art—to local attendants at the local court, and to a single fish rather than a pair of well-formed fishes.

Meanwhile the dictionary makers were working on a third text, *Bahar-al-Anwar,* by Baqir. It was mentioned by Dr. Alois Sprenger who searched through the several mahals in Lucknow at the beginning of Wajid Ali Shah's time, chiefly 1848-1849. He found the printed volumes *One, Two,* and *Three* of *Bahar-al-Anwar* tied up in jute sacks, ridden by termites and rats. Whether any were ever released to anybody, before being put away "securely", I simply do not know. This was to have been the largest undertaking of the literary community...Dr. Sprenger had had the assignment from the Resident at Lucknow and thus. even at the end of the trail of government responsibility—after materials had been presented, used faithfully, and stored away—the public responsibility of Government is still to be found, trying to piece together some things which are badly arranged.

The Portuguese in Goa open the story, and the French trial at printing seems to have reached an English conclusion. Officially both Portugal and France opened their Government Presses in Goa and Pondicherry respectively in 1824, for official printing only. I have no evidence of another press in Goa before 1850 ; and none that the Government Press did secular work in Pondicherry. The Mission Press in Pondicherry began in 1841, entirely separate from local taxes.

The final venture in government before 1850 was introduction of lithographic presses to each presidency. There was a flash of success in Bombay and Poona where several elegant folios, beatifully calligraphed by Shirazis, were printed ; and longer success in that city because lithography was not ritually unclean to the Brahmans. In North India, especially at Lucknow, the success of lithography was so great that only today is there evidence of a vocal minority who desire type-printing for Urdu language, so that it may be internationally readable. Straggling ventures in this near-print process appeared at Madras (Dr. Robert Wight's great botanical series is most probably the largest and most complicated single work lithographed in India) ; and in Calcutta it was used chiefly for maps and illustrations. The earliest indication of lithography which I have recorded is for Lushington's 1824 plates in his *The History ...of the Religious, Benevolent and Charitable Institutions.* (Calcutta, Hindoostanee Press and Government Lithographic Press, 1824).

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BIHAR IN THE 17th CENTURY

SURENDRA GOPAL

A WELCOME development in recent years has been the efforts made to study regional histories. The realisation has dawned that no true history of India can be written without intensive study of the various regions. This applies to all branches of Indian history.

In the field of economic history of India in the 17th century, certain monographs embodying this trend have already appeared.

Quite different from the tradition set by W. H. Moreland, Chablani and Pant who sought to generalise for the whole of India on the basis of slender evidence, we have in recent years the book by Tapan Raychaudhury, *Jan Company in Coromandal, 1605-1690* (Sgravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1962) where the focus is on a distinct region and the activities of a particular business community. Even regional studies, not exclusively devoted to economic history, have chapters on economic life. Bengal has been fortunate in this respect. Tapan Raychaudhury in *Bengal under Akbar and Jahangir* (Calcutta, 1953 ; and recent new edition and Mrs. Anjali Chatterjee *nee* Basu in *Bengal in the Reign of Aurangzeb* (Calcutta, 1967) have written on economic issues facing the area under study.

The economic history of Bihar in the 17th century has suffered from neglect and indifference. Apart from stray articles by Professor Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, there has been no concerted effort to study the economic life of Bihar in this period which is a vital century if we keep in view the new economic forces that had been emerging and their profound influence on the economy in the later centuries.

Bihar shared the destiny of the rest of the country in that its markets began to be penetrated by European trading companies. Arrival of newcomers was significant because it disturbed the traditional pattern and sowed seeds of future development—some of which I dare say are present even today. Such a vital study has been neglected in spite of abundance of primary sources which are readily accessible in a familiar language to the researchers.

Among the primary sources, the pride of place belongs to the documents of the English East India Company, a selection of which has been edited by W. Foster and published under the title *The English Factories in India : A Calendar of Documents in the India Office, British Museum and Public Record Office.* (Oxford, 1906-1927). It runs into thirteen volumes each having about 500 pages, and deals with the period from 1618 to 1669—covering a span of more than half a century. These volumes contain summaries of documents addressed to, or addressed by, the agents of the English Company stationed all over India. A researcher has to look carefully to these pages and cull the necessary data therefrom.

We know that the first attempt to exploit the markets of Bihar was made by the English in 1620. The enterprisers had travelled from Agra, but the effort did not prove successful. However, on this occasion they tried to obtain the necessary supplies by employing the "putting out" system. Their acquaintance had been made and it was but a matter of time until the English and the Dutch were to launch a full-scale operation in the province.

Documents reveal that both the English and the Dutch stepped up their activities in the area in the 1630s when they found that, owing to famine in Gujarat—till then their principal

area of activity, they could not get the necessary supplies of cotton textiles, indigo, and salt-petre : goods in which they had then become vitally interested. Their efforts to enter the markets of Bihar met with no Mughal resistance because Shahjahan's relations with the Portuguese had already been spoiled. Instead the English and Dutch participation was encouraged by Mughal authorities, and an important factor became apparent : collaboration between the ruling power and the foreign trading companies with the former quite unmindful of the consequence. Although relations did not always remain cordial, as the documents reveal, yet on the whole the ruling powers for one reason or another never became rigid.

This leads me to another point. Demand for indigo and salt-petre evidently led to prosperity among the classes producing these articles. Though this prosperity could not seep down to the lowest, yet some sections of people engaged in its production did benefit. Since the documents in these volumes are summaries, it is not possible to determine the caste composition however, on the basis of 18th century documents, it is a safe guess that these people by caste were either Kurmis or Koeris, or certain sections of Vaisya community. The Kurmis, being chiefly a peasant community, should have profited more than the others. At least from the 17th century we can date the emergence of a financially well-off section among the Kurmis which eventually crystallised into two well-defined castes.

These documents indicate that the English and the Dutch came to dominate the economy of the region within half a century, and they show another development in the Bihar economy which was to remain prominent for the next hundred years. In the Eighties conditions in Gujarat had become so disturbed that it was no longer safe to send Bihar goods through Surat. Hence, the trading companies began to utilise the ports of Bengal with which Bihar was linked by the convenient Ganges River. The result was the Bihar's economy was hitched to that of Bengal. an orientation which would remain prominent for three centuries.

Yet another set of valuable data is revealed by *The English Factories in India*. We learn the names of several small towns

and villages which Europeans frequented in order to secure textiles, salt-petre and indigo. Some of these places around Patna—like Masaurhi, Fatwa, Baikatpur—are still inhabited and bear the same name. It is also true of certain places in North Bihar which came into prominence because of their association with the European trading companies. We get a very dependable account of the chief producing centres in the 17th century and a comparison of this list with that prepared by Buchanan in the opening years of the 19th century should throw light on the long-term effects of the penetration by Europeans, particularly the British, in the economy of Bihar. The Buchanan reports, all published in Patna, are *Journal of Francis Buchanan Kept During the Survey of the District of Bhagalpur in 1810-11*, ed. by C. F. A. W. Oldham (1930); *An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811-12* (n.d.); *An Account of the District of Shahabad in 1812-13* (1934); *An Account of the District of Purnea* (1928); and *An Account of the District of Bhagalpur in 1810-11* (1939). Interest rates are given and, by use of elementary mathematics, a researcher may find the position of capital availability and the financial condition of the market at various states during the 17th century.

We also learn of the presence of merchants from several Asian countries: the Central Asians, the Turks, the Persians, and the Armenians. They came to purchase goods of Bihar as well as manufactures of Bengal which implies that Bihar was a clearning ground for Bengali products westwards and perhaps northwards.

The information gathered from the English East India Company documents is corroborated by accounts of several contemporary travellers. I would particularly mention the account of John Marshall which had been edited by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan and published in London, 1927.

John Marshall was in Bihar from 1668 to 1672. He wrote an intimate account of the chief producing centres and discussed the quantity, quality, and marketing of the products. Distance between various places is mentioned, so that his book could serve as a useful guide-book for any trader in Bihar at that time.

The most interesting fact that emerges from Marshall's

account is the position of Bihar as the chief centre of trade with the Himalayan and trans-Himalayan kingdoms. Bihar imported and exported to these areas. The Europeans tried to penetrate the Himalayan regions with Bihar as their base.

Before I finish these remarks about a few primary sources for the economic history of Bihar in the 17th century, I would like to draw the attention of scholars to a source which has not so far been used, but which promises to be a mine of information. I refer to the accounts of Armenian traders who were in this region during the period under review. Most of these accounts are still inaccessible to researchers in India as they are preserved in the archives of the Armenian Republic of the U. S. S. R. at Yerevan. Yet the account of one Armenian trader, Hovhannes Joughayetsi, who had been in India in the second half of the 17th century and whose itinerary included Bihar, gives information akin to that of Marshall. This was published by Levon Khachikian in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (VIII, No. 3, 1966). He mentions manufacturing centres, quality and quantity of goods produced, and the principal markets. In one respect he is unique : from him we learn that the Armenians frequented Nepal and Tibet, and that Patna served as the starting point for their journeys. This was the distinguishing feature of the commercial activities of the Armenians as compared with that of the Europeans.

In short, documents of the English East India Company supplemented by contemporary travel accounts can enable us to reconstruct the economic history of Bihar with a fair amount of accuracy. This can be performed even while sitting at Patna, with probably six or eight weeks stay at Calcutta. I hope that some enterprising researcher will take up the challenge of filling some of the lacunae in this Bihar economic history.

ARCHIVAL MATERIALS RELATING TO BIHAR IN THE 18th and 19th CENTURIES

ADITYA PRASAD JHA
TARA SHARAN SINHA

No archival materials belonging to the Mughal Government in Bihar or to its functionaries are available in any record office within our knowledge. The single exception is a small volume of *Raqbabandi Todarmali,* dated 1001 Fasli or 1594 A.D., which has been brought from the record-room of the Bhagalpur Collectorate to the State Central Records Office, Bihar, Patna. This is a register of revenue-paying estates prepared under the settlement made by Raja Todar Mal in Bihar in Akbar's time. There are some old *firmans, sanads,* and *parwanas* belonging to the Mughal period which had been brought from the District and Divisional Record-Rooms to the State Central Records Office. These were filed by private individuals before the revenue authorities to establish their claims to revenue-free tenures during the days of the resumption proceedings in the first half of the 19th century. A catalogue of such *firmans, sanads,* and *parwanas* was published by the State Central Records Office, Bihar, in 1962.

Dr. Jha and Mr. Sinha had prepared and completed this paper. All of us were saddened to learn that Dr. Jha had died just one week before the Seminar was held. Mr. Sinha presented the paper.

The archival materials relating to Bihar, which are now available in the various record repositories both inside and outside Bihar, are entirely those created by the British Government. They are located as indicated below.

National Archives of India

The records relating to the British conquest of Bihar from 1757 to 1764 are available in the "Secret" and the "Select Committee" proceedings of the Governor and Council of Fort William, preserved in the Foreign Department records of the National Archives of India, New Delhi. Some records of this description are also found in the printed "Bengal and Madras Records" of the same period. available in the National Archives of India as well as in the State Central Records Office, Bihar. The records relating to extension of British authority in Chota Nagpur regions of south Bihar are to be found in the "Foreign Secret", "Foreign Political", and "Military" Departments' proceedings in the National Archives of India. Microfilm copies of "Foreign Secret" proceedings from 1757 to 1772 are also available in the State Central Records Office, Bihar. In the "Foreign Secret", "Foreign Political", and "Military" Departments' records of the National Archives of India are also to be found the original materials bearing on Anglo-Maratha relations on the South-West frontiers of Bihar. and Anglo-Nepalese relations on its Northern frontiers, particularly in the first two decades of the 19th century. The "Home Public" series of records in the National Archives of India covering the whole of the East India Company's period contains valuable materials regarding the trade, administration, politics, and cultural activities in Bihar during the period. The "Home Revenue" and "Home Miscellaneous" series of records in the National Archives of India from 1834 to 1858 also contain valuable references relating to Bihar. particularly in the field of agrarian history.

West Bengal State Archives

The records of the Chief and Council at Patna. who were responsible for the administration of revenue and commerce of

Bihar from 1765 to 1772 are preserved in the West Bengal State Archives. A printed "Press-list" of these published by Bengal Secretariat Record Room is also available. The records of the Bengal Revenue Department from 1772 to 1858, and of the Bengal Judicial Department—both *Civil* and *Criminal*—from 1790 to 1858, preserved in the West Bengal State Archives, contain abundant source materials for the study of administrative, social, and economic history of Bihar during the East India Company's rule.

India Office

Records of the East India Company's period, which are available in National Archives of India and the West Bengal State Archives, are also available in the India Office, London.

Calcutta High Court

The records of the Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalats, preserved in the High Court of Calcutta, contain valuable information regarding social conditions in Bihar in the 19th century up to 1862. Some volumes of printed reports on the cases decided by these Adalats are also available in the State Central Records Office, Bihar. Some records of the Calcutta High Court relating to Bihar in the 19th century are also to be found in the Patna High Court.

Bihar Board of Revenue

Records of the Provincial Council of Revenue at Patna from 1772 to 1781 and those relating to Bihar of the Board of Revenue at Calcutta up to 1793 are available in the record-room of the Bihar Board of Revenue at Patna. These records are highly informative on the system of revenue administration that prevailed in Bihar before the Permanent Settlement, as well as the genesis of Permanent Settlement which was actually first tried in Bihar and then extended to the rest of the presidency. The Board of Revenue at Patna further preserves their records relating to revenue administration of Bihar since 1859.

State Central Records Office, Bihar

The records of the Revenue Chief of Bihar, 1781-1786, are available in the State Central Records Office, Bihar, Patna. These have been brought here from the record-room of the Shahabad Collectorate. Two old publications based on these records are also available: *Early English Administration of Bihar,* by J. R. Hand (Calcutta, 1894) and *Selections from the Correspondence of the Revenue Chief of Bihar* (1781-86) by J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S. (Patna, 1919) are also available.

In the State Central Records Office, Bihar, are preserved the old English records of the Patna Commissioner's Office from 1812 to 1900; of the Bhagalpur Commissioner's Office from 1806 to 1900; and of the Chota Nagpur Commissioner's Office from 1795 to 1900. Besides, the Old English records of several Collectorates have also been brought here to the State Central Records Office, Bihar. These are of the Bhagalpur District (1770-1900), Monghyr District (1782-1869), Champaran District (1837-1900), Shahabad District (1781-1800), Saran District (1779 ... incomplete), Gaya District (1842-1900), Hazarabagh District (1834-1876), and Ranchi District (1837-1900). These are the English Correspondence of the Divisional and District authorities in question with the various superior and subordinate authorities with whom they had to deal. In addition to these, the State Central Records Office, Bihar, also preserves the records relating to Bihar of the old Government of Bengal from 1859 to 1912.

Of the Divisional and District records mentioned above, those of Patna, Bhagalpur, and Chota Nagpur Commissioners' Offices and the Bhagalpur, Muzaffarpur, Purnea, Monghyr, and Saran Collectorates are very rich in content. The records of the Patna Commissioner's Office, for example, contain valuable information regarding working of the Permanent Settlement, resumption of rent-free tenure, opium and saltpetre trade, police and crime, popular uprisings and anti-British plots, the revolt of 1857, progress of education, sanitation and public works, cultivation of indigo, state of public feelings, conduct of zamindaries, etc. It is to be noted that the jurisdiction of the

Commissionership of Patna in the 19th century extended to all the Districts of the existing Patna and Tirhut Divisions. Two volumes of catalogues of the Patna Commissioner's Records have been published recently by the State Central Records Office and the third volume is in the press. The records of the Bhagalpur Commissioner's Office are more or less on the same pattern.

Chota Nagpur Commissioner's Office records are even more interesting. They include papers relating to Anglo-Bhonsla relations on the South-West frontiers of Bihar ; consolidation of British authority in Chota Panpur ; British conquest of Singbhum, Sambalpur and Sarguja ; revenue, excise and police administration in Ramgarh District ; Kol insurrections, tribal organisations, customs and manners, Christian missionaries, the revolt of 1857, Bhuinhari settlements, Sardari agitations, etc.

Of the district records those of the Bhagalpur Collectorate are more comprehensive. They relate to practically all branches of district administration and give a vivid picture of the growth of district administrative machinery. These records begin from 1770 with the correspondence of Harwood, the first Superviser of Bhagalpur with the Resident at the Murshidabad Darbar. A volume of *Selection from the Judicial Records of Bhagalpur District Office, 1793 to 1805* has been recently published by the State Central Records Office, Bihar.

The Bengal Government records relating to Bihar 1859-1912 are those created by the different Departments of the Secretariat, such as Revenue, Judicial, General, Municipal. Each Department is subdivided into Branches, and the records are arranged separately under each Branch according to subject. Revenue Department records, for example, are divided into such subjects as *Land Revenue, Miscellaneous Revenue, Forest Agriculture, Jurisdiction, Registration, Famine*, etc. The Judicial Department records are subdivided into such series as *Judicial, Jails, Police, Political,* etc. These records present complete accounts of important administrative decisions which were taken during the period by the Government of Bengal relating to the affairs of Bihar.

Vernacular Records in District Record-Rooms

Apart from the English records described above, there are huge collections of vernacular records in Persian, Urdu, and Hindustani in nearly every divisional and district record-room. These are arranged *pargana-wise* and *mauza-wise,* and relate to permanent settlement, resumption proceedings, *Thakbust* survey, *Cadastral* survey and other landmarks in the revenue history of Bihar as well as to recurring disputes for possession of individual estates. It is possible to trace from these records the revenue history of practically every village in Bihar, and may thus be extremely helpful in the study of the devolution of private property in this region.

District Judge's Record-Rooms

The Judicial records at district level are preserved in the record-rooms of the District Judges. These have not yet been studied and utilised by research scholars—with one notable exception. The Old English Correspondence of the Judge and Magistrate of Patna from 1790 to 1858, preserved in the record-room of the District Judge of Patna, was edited by Dr. K. K. Datta some years ago and published by the State Central Records Office, Bihar. The original records are now preserved in the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

Conclusion

There is thus no dearth of archival material relating to Bihar after 1757. It is available in the various record offices inside and outside Bihar, some of which are mentioned above. The only difficulty with them, particularly those which are in the record offices in Bihar, is that they have not yet been surveyed, catalogued, and indexed. The result is that the inquisitive research scholars often fail to secure full advantage from these sources despite their efforts.

SOCIAL HISTORY OF BIHAR IN THE 19th CENTURY

V. A. NARAIN

INDIA has presented itself to the Indians as well as to the outsiders as an integrated whole. Whatever diversities of race, religion, language, customs and manners, there has always reigned supreme a fundamental unity which made people think of the whole of India as an entity. It would be pretentious and unreal to say that the history and culture of Bihar is separate and independent of Indian history and Indian culture. However, it is certainly true that there are differences between cultures of the different provinces and it would be profitable to know in what manner the people of Bihar and their culture differ from those of the other provinces of India, and how they contributed certain strains and characteristics to Indian culture as a whole. As Sister Nivedita observed, "The peculiar significance of Bihar in the comity of Indian people rises out due to its position on the frontier line between two opposing spiritual forces. To this day it is the meeting place of Hinduistic and Musulman civilisations...All sorts of modified institutions representing mutual assimilations arise along the borderline. Customs, language, manners and habits of life are full of compromise..."

Early 19th century society of Bihar was still feudal and

theocratic, with local landlords and Brahman priests or Muslim *Kazis* at its apex. Social custom, profession and way of living, all were determined by the religious injunctions issued by the Brahmans and the Kazis and enforced by the landed aristocracy. The Hindus who formed the majority of the population had a very rigid caste system. There was hardly any social mobility: profession was governed by the caste or sub-caste to which one belonged by birth, irrespective of talents or skill for anything else. There was a great difference between the standards of living of the rich and the poor. The rich lived a life of luxury whereas the vast majority of the people, who were poor, had to labour hard to make both ends meet. With the establishment of the East India Company's sway over Bihar and the coming of western ideas and institutions there was gradual change. It was therefore a period of conflict between the old oriental ways of living and thinking and the new western ones which were introduced by an alien ruler who professed a different faith. This impact of the West became marked in the second half of the 19th century.

There are a few books which speak, along with other matters, of the social condition of 19th century Bihar. It is not possible to secure all information at one place in the form of a continuous history. Still, if all that is available be pieced together, we could have a good picture of society in this part of India during the last century. The several varieties of sources might be classified thus:

I. Contemporary and semicontemporary books
II. Reports and Accounts
III. Travels, Memoirs, and Tracts
IV. Government Records and Parliamentary Papers
V. Journals and Magazines

CONTEMPORARY AND SEMICONTEMPORARY BOOKS

Most of the contemporary books were written by foreigners who lived in India and were attracted by the religious beliefs, manners and customs of the people. They tried to depict a true picture of the social life. Only a few writers concentrated on

Bihar, but in their descriptions we find information here and there about the life of the Biharis.

G. A. Grierson tried to give a vivid picture of the Bihar peasantry. In his *Bihar Peasant Life* (Bankipur, Patna, 1885) there is a detailed account of their material condition, social customs, and ceremonies. He also deals with superstitions which were part and parcel of life; but the most important feature of this book is that it contains all sorts of interesting stories and proverbs related to daily life. His *Notes on the District of Gaya* (Calcutta, 1893) depicts the pathetic condition of the poorer classes of society. He says that they could not have a rice meal even twice a week, and that those who could have it were considered thieves by their neighbours. H. Risley's *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1891. 2 v.) is also very helpful. Bengal of Risley's period included Bihar, so that both groups of peoples were included, and he touched almost all aspects of the society. There is a systematic account of the different castes and sub-castes, their religious practices, their social position, and their various customs and ceremonies. Also mentioned are the peculiar customs relating to marriage, religion, funerals, etc. For example, he described the marriage as practiced by the Awadhiya Muniyas, known as "Asmani Sadi". This required that both the bride and bridegroom be held off the ground during the ceremony. There is an account of the "Sagai" marriage, prevalent among the lower class of society. Speaking about the remarriage of widows, he says that a fairly liberal policy prevailed in Bihar. All castes excepting the Brahmans, Rajputs, Babhans, Kayasthas and a few others belonging to the Baniya class, permitted their widows to marry again. Dalton's *Comparative Ethnology of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1872) gives a brief description of the various castes in Bihar.

Caleb Wright's *Oriental Customs or Life in India* (Boston, 1860) describes the *Sradh* ceremony at Gaya. From M. Martin's *Topography and Statistics of Eastern India, Vol. III* (London, 1838) we find information about the *Fakirs* who had established themselves at Janghera, a religious place in the midst of the River Ganges near Monghyr, and the considerable wealth they derived from pilgrims' offerings.

For the social and ceremonial life of the tribal peoples of Bihar, *A Brief History of Indian People*, by W. W. Hunter (Oxford, 1892) and *The Story of an Indian Upland* ,(London, 1905) by Bradley Birt may be used.

Some Indian writers of the 20th century tried to reconstruct the history of Bihar. *Bihar through the Ages* (Calcutta, 1959) edited by R. R. Diwakar is a good effort in this direction, but as the book covers a long period it gives very little about 19th century society. R. K. Choudhary's *History of Bihar* (Bihar, 1958), though dealing mainly with political events, gives some social, economic, and cultural traditions. P. C. Roy Chowdhary's *Inside Bihar* (Patna, 1962) gives a glimpse of the religious beliefs and practices. R. S. Choudhari's *Rambles in Bihar* (Patna, 1917) describes the places of religious celebration, *e.g.* Brahmasthan of Patna City, Dargah of Maner, and the Temple of Mandargiri. It also gives a description of the Sonepur Fair.

S. C. Mitra in his short notes *Bihari Life in Bihari Riddles*; *Bihari Life in Bihari Nursery Rhymes*; and *On Bihari Customs* (Calcutta, 1903) has tried to depict society through the traditional riddle and nursery rhyme of Bihar. He has also written important notes on the peculiar religious practices of the Hindus in different parts of Bihar which seem to not be mentioned by others. His *Notes on the Fire-Walking Ceremony among the Dusadhs* (Patna, 1936) and *Notes on the Sun-Worship in Bihar* (Patna, 1904) enlarge on particularites. R. B. Lal's *Glimpses of Tribal Life in Bihar* (Bihar, ?) deals entirely with tribal society.

In addition to the English language books just mentioned, there are some books in Hindi which do not, however, deal with the social condition of Bihar in detail.

REPORTS AND ACCOUNTS

The contemporary reports and accounts by various writers add to our knowledge of 19th century Bihari society. Francis Buchanan's several accounts, which might well be called early district gazetteers, give very comprehensive pictures of different parts of Bihar. Himself interested in rituals, he has left outstanding descriptions of religious sects which were then in

transition, forming such new orders as Radhaballabi sect, Siva Narayani sect, Dariyapanthi sect and others. He alone recorded in detail the religious practices and life of the people if the interior country. Witchcraft, prostitution, the Hiyavas and other things are discussed by Buchanan : nowhere else is such information except in the formal government records (for which Buchanan was actually preparing when he made these circuitous journeys). His books form a rich source for the study of Bihari society of the time. In the other hand, much of what he recorded is in the nature of diary entries, and the details are uneven. Adam's *Reports on the Education of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1941) gives very detailed information about Bihar, in addition to Bengal, and deals with the decline of the old educational institutions in Bihar in conjunction with the changing pattern of learning.

TRAVELS, MEMOIRS AND TRACTS

Travellers, foreign and Indian, who passed through parts of Bihar have left accounts of the people and their society. William Buyers' *Recollections of Northern India* (London, 1848) gives an account of English education and the causes of its unpopularity. He says, "Though in habits and opinions the Hindus in general are more removed from Europeans than the Muhammadans are, they are not so virulent in their opposition to English teaching...Hence schools are full of Hindu children while the Mussalmans send comparatively few of their children". He also gives a horrifying description of *thugee* which was practiced in the mid-river in many parts of Bihar, how travellers were enticed into boats, carried into mid-stream and robbed, then thrown into the waters.

Anne Dean's *A Tour Through the Upper Provinces of Hindustan from 1804 to 1814* (London, 1823) mentions that girls in Bihar were betrothed by their parents to men of their own caste before they attained their seventh birthday, without any consideration of difference in ages between the two parties.

In his *Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India, 1824-25, Vol. I.* (London, 1827) Bishop Reginald Heber

mentions the silk industry of Bhagalpur, the blind beggars, schools of Bhagalpur, and the Brahman labourers. He also comments on the Baptist mission at Monghyr.

First Impressions and Studies from Nature in Hindustan (London, 1837) by Thomas Bacon is highly appreciative of the beauty and simplicity of the Bihari women, whose natural beauty was enhanced by the simple garments worn. Similarly, Bholanath Chunder's *The Travels of a Hindu in Parts of Bengal and Upper India* (London, 1869, 2 vols.) and Valentia's *Voyages in the Years 1802-1806. Vol. I* (London, 1811) and finally Mrs. Elwood's *Narrative of a Journey* (1830, in the Victoria Memorial Collection, Calcutta) give accounts by different kinds of people who would, naturally, see a variety of different sights.

Pamphlets and tracts provide considerable clue to the existing conditions at the time of writing. From William Ward's *Letters to Villers on Education of the Natives of India* (London, 1820) we come to know that English educational institutions were not at all popular at that time and most of them were closed for want of pupils. There was a very general feeling among the Biharis that the object of English education was to proselytise the pupils to the Christian faith.

In his religious tract *Patna, Gaya, and Banares, Buddhism and Hinduism* (Calcutta, 1886) Macdonald gives an account of the *Gayawals* who kept agents all over India to induce superstitious Hindus to take pilgrimage to Gaya and then to squeeze every last penny out of the helpless pilgrims. *Reminiscences of Bihar by An Old Planter* (Calcutta, 1887) describes the thieves who fell on their victims especially at the fairs in different parts of Bihar. It throws light on the life of the Christians, and mentions the nuisance created by the howling and fighting of beggars and *fakirs* when they were refused alms.

GOVERNMENT RECORDS AND PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS

Published government papers contain much information about the condition of society. *Selections from Unpublished Correspondence of the Judge-Magistrate and the Judge of Patna, 1790-1857* (Patna, 1954) compiled and edited by Dr. K. K. Datta

contains significant references relating to education, sati, and widow remarriage, as well as Christian missionaries.

Both Seton Karr and Sandeman have made and published *Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes:* Seton Karr's series included 1784 through 1815 (4 vols. Calcutta. 1864-68) and Sandeman's being 1816 to 1823 (5th vol. Calcutta, 1869). Seton Karr's series includes a good account of the social and ceremonial life of the Pahariyas of Rajmahal ; and Sandeman's, a graphic description of the inhuman practice of *charakpuja* in the province. Naturally far more articles and far more detail will be found in the original edition of Calcutta Gazettes which may be used at the National Library, Calcutta.

Parliamentary Papers contain numerous long summary accounts, as well as incidental articles, on social issues. *Sati* was prevalent in Bihar, and the *Parliamentary Papers* articles indicate its performance, the religious belief of the women who sacrifice themselves at their husband's pyre, and their assurance that *sati* will being salvation to both individuals who would never be again separated from each other. Sections on slavery in Bihar may also be found.

JOURNALS AND MAGAZINES: a useful list

1. *Journal of Patna and Gaya*
2. *Journal of Shahabad and Bhagalpur*
3. *Indian Antiquary*
4. *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*
5. *Asiatic Annual Register*
6. *The Friend of India* (weekly series)
7. *Calcutta Review*
8. *Bengal Past and Present*
9. *Asiatick Researches*, later spelled *Asiatic Researches*
10. *Asiatic Journal*

Quickly giving samples of subject matter to be found in the above : Nos. 1-2, much local social history ; No. 3, occasional articles—being a rather general journal, it will have less Bihari matter than those published locally ; No. 4, some slavery articles ; No. 5, sorcery and witchcraft in Bihar and other local matter ;

No. 6, Bihar articles tend to relate to the British mission, the manner of life and dress of the Christians, their adaptation to the local customs and vocations ; No. 7, occasional articles written during the 19th century, and No. 8, other articles written during the 20th century ; Nos. 9-10, late 18th and early 19th century articles.

SOCIAL HISTORY OF BIHAR IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY

SATYANARAIN PRASAD

THE second half of the 19th century is a seminal period in the history of Bihar. Signs of modernism began to appear. There was a transfer of power from the Company to the Crown, implementation of the Woods Despatch, introduction of local self-government, and the foundation of a number of institutions for the enlightenment of the people. All these movements threw pebbles in the placid water of Bihar's social life.

The transition of society from conservatism to liberalism presents a fascinating study and archival materials help us greatly in the study of the social life of Bihar. The *Educational Proceedings* and *Reports* steal a march over other records, proceedings and reports in this connection. They focus attention on the reactions of the people to the educational measures of government. The *Educational Proceedings* are available in the State Central Record Office, Patna, from 1859 onwards. The *Reports on Public Instruction* (1855-56 onwards) are stored in the National Library, Calcutta. A few copies of them are also preserved in the Secretariat Library, Patna. *Reports on Progress of Education in India* (1886 onwards) and the *Progress of Education in Bengal* (1892-93 onwards) can be consulted in the

Sinha Library, State Central Records Office, Patna, and the Legislative Library, Patna.

The general masses of Bihar were steeped in darkness and ignorance. They doubted the motives of government and regarded its attempt to spread education as prelude to conversion to Christianity. They hated the educational authorities and called the Inspector "Sheitan ka dufterkhana", or "Devil's House". Common messing in jail had antagonised the people so much that when educational officers went to villages to persuade people to send their children to schools they complained "Udhar Magistrate Sahib khilate, khilate, aur idhar tumlok parhate parhate", or "Thither the Magistrate by feeding, and hither you by teaching, are out to convert us to Christianity". Their hatred was so great against the educational measures of Government that during the great upheaval of 1857 they did not leave even the library of the Arrah School untouched ! This attitude of the people prevented the government from implementing the suggestion of the Despatch of 1859 for imposition of educational cess (tax). The memory of 1857 was too fresh. The Commissioner of Patna rightly remarked, "Nothing would be more unpopular in Bihar than such a cess or rate".

But the intelligentsia of Bihar and some of the zamindars were quite alive to the value of education. This was a sign of "awakening (of the people) to the value of liberal education". The Educational Records inform us how they successfully fought for the retention of Patna College on its former footing when, in 1872, the government wanted to reduce it to the First Arts Standard. The downgrading of the Patna College was regarded as a prelude to the "stoppage of the intellectual and social progress of Bihar".

Materials can also be gleaned regarding the role of the aristocracy in the welfare of the society from these papers. Not all, but a few of the aristocrats, realised that only the speed of education could uplift Bihar from the morass of ignorance and darkness. Consequently they set up a number of colleges. Foremost among them was Tej Narayan Singh, founder of the Tej Narayan Jubilee College, Bhagalpur (1883). He was followed by two brothers, Bisheshwar Singh and Shaligram Singh, and

Langat Singh who set up the Bihar National College, Patna (1889), and the Greer Bhumihar Brahmin College, Muzaffarpore (1899), now called Langat Singh College. The year 1898 saw foundation of Diamond Jubilee College, Monghyr, by a local zamindar. The students of these institutions did much to bring about a renaissance and reformation in the society. The proceedings of various caste *sabhas* (societies) and the newspaper reports bear witness to the fact.

The students who formed the bulk of the population in schools and colleges belonged to the upper strata of the society. Naturally they abhored manual labour and desired white-collar professional work. So the legal profession is held in high esteem. For retention of the second and third year law classes at Patna they willingly agreed to pay the enhanced fees. It is true that the people of Patna had collected subscriptions to set up a technical school in 1875 to commemorate the visit of the Prince of Wales, but they had little liking for engineering or medicine. This is why none of the educated Biharis took to trade or industry during this period.

Much information culled from these Records can be corroborated by newspaper accounts regarding the social life of the Mohammedans. The Muslims of Bihar had taken a leading part in the Revolt of 1857. One of the causes of the Wahabi uprising was attributed to the neglect of Mohammedan education by the English, so government tried to conciliate them by making provision for teaching Arabic and Persian in government schools. Though the Mohammedans welcomed the teaching of their classical languages, still—as did the Hindus—they doubted the intention of government. A Mohammedan of "very considerable influence" told the Commissioner of Patna, "Sir, the fact is that the people here are prejudiced against the government school simply because they have the idea that you wish to abolish their religion..." But soon they realised the value of English education.

Government provided special facilities in educational institutions in the form of scholarships. The Bihari Muslims took advantage of these facilities to the full. The influence of the Aligarh Movement might have been a potent factor in the

change. Many of them even went abroad for higher education. Syed Hossein, a Mohammedan of Patna, sailed for England in 1878 on a scholarship valued at £220 a year for studying in an Agricultural College in England. In 1880, three Mohammedans of Bihar returned from England after qualifying for the bar: S. Sharfuddin (Judge, High Court, Calcutta), Nurul Hoda (District and Session Judge, Pabna) and Abdul Hussain Khan (Judge, Small Cause Court, Calcutta). The honour of being the first Indian Civil Servant (I.C.S.) in Bihar also went to them: Mohammed Yusuff competed in the 1890 I.C.S. examination. No Bihari Hindu could achieve that honour until 1918, when Shyamaldhari Lal of Bhagalpur got through this examination. The Muslims outdistanced their Hindu brethren in the academic field because they could adjust themselves to the new environment.

A detailed study of the *Educational Records* and *Proceedings* reveals the position of women in society. Girls were kept in seclusion. Any attempt to educate them was frowned upon, so Government left the initiative of opening Girls' schools to the people. This policy envisaged less popular opposition, as the education of females was bound to "place the domestic relations of every family on a new footing and to break up existing habits and customs".

Bengalis had opened a few girls' schools here and there, but people of Bihar were averse to female education. The very idea of sending girls to schools was repugnant to them. None of the Bihari Hindus sent their girls to the Bankipur Girls' School till 1897, though the School was in their midst since 1867! Even the Bengalis who sent their daughters to school were mostly Brahmos. Male teachers in girls' schools were unwanted. The elopement of a girl with her teacher in the Gaya District in 1899-1900 led the parents to withdraw their daughters from schools.

The Mohammedans of Bihar who had more readily responded to the opportunity of Western education than their Hindu counterparts, did not act differently from them in the matter of female education. Till the 1890s, they neither opened schools for girls nor did they press government to propagate

education among them. In their evidence before the Indian Education Commission (1882) both Nawab Abdul Lutteef Khan Bahadur and Moulvi Syed Amir Hossein Khan Bahadur did not advocate the cause of female education. The former admitted that "there are special difficulties greater than those which exist in regard to female education of any other class of the Indian population". The latter, on the other hand, wished to speak "as little on the subject as possible".

Towards the end of the century both Hindus and Muslims changed their ideas regarding female education. The spread of education (among the boys and young men) and the increasing contact with the West might have compelled them to do so, but they did not shed their prejudice against the *purda* system (the veil). They wanted to educate their girls without violating the sanctity of the *purda.* The Badshah Nawab Rizivi College, established by the joint endeavours of the Maharani of Bettiah and Badshah Nawab Rizivi, and a girls' school at Gaya established by a Dutt couple in collaboration with Kesho Lal proved successful because they were conducted on *purda* lines. So intense was the people's insistence on *purda* that the government had to replace male teachers with female teachers in the Bankipur Girls' School ! Child marriage, the dowry system, and *purda* were the reasons which prevented the parents from sending their daughters to schools.

But in Chotanagpur Division the reverse was the case. There female education was quite popular because of the independence of the tribal women and the absence of child marriage among them. Major Garbett who was a pioneer of female education in this area was "astonished and surprised" to see the devotion of girls towards education

Along with the *Educational Records* and *Proceedings* which give such a wealth of information about social change in Bihar, the *Census Reports* add data of a slightly different nature. We find in them a comprehensive account of the people. their occupations, customs and manners, all of which form necessary ingredients of social history. The *Census Report of 1891* revealed for the first time the fact that widow remarriage was prevalent in Bihar though it was confined to the lower classes. We also

learn that the manners and customs in North Bihar and South Bihar differed widely.

One should be very cautious in handling the *Census Report* data, because the authenticity is doubtful. For example, the *Census Report of 1891* included boys under the age of fifteen years *who were just learning to read* in the literate column. Similarly that same *Report* refers to the number of girl students in Patna as 3,874 which is larger than the figures mentioned by the Educational Department for the whole of Patna Division. Moreover, the female occupation was totally obliterated from the 1891 data. In spite of this, a proper study of the *Census Reports* along with constant reference to the departmental returns will be of immense help in writing Bihar's social history. These documents are available in the Secretariat Library, Patna, and the National Library and West Bengal Secretariat Library, Calcutta.

Other important and useful sources for this social history are the *Reports on the Administration of Bengal; Annual Administration Reports* and the *Quinquennial Administration Reports of the Patna, Bhagalpur, and Chotanagpur Divisions.* They give us an idea about trade, industry and commerce of the division ; public health, progress of education, rate of emigration and immigration, means of communication, the activities of social and cultural institutions. A glance at the working of the cultural, literary, and social institutions, their ideals, the number of their members will disclose how the society was heading towards modernisation.

The most important among these *Behar* (the old local spelling) institutions were the Behar Scientific Society, the Dharma Samaj at Muzaffarpur, the Behar Literary Society and the Behar Oopkar Sabha at Patna, Jamalpur Native Institute and Jamalpur Young Men's Association, the Arya Dharma Pracharini Sabha of Monghyr, the Hazaribagh Union Club, etc. The Behar Scientific Society was set up on 24th May 1868 at Muzaffarpur. It was a literary and cultural society whose aim was the spread of a modicum of European Science and Learning through the vernacular language. So it translated a number of English books into Urdu. Another important society was the Dharma Samaj

established on August 22, 1869 at Muzaffarpur. More or less a religious institution, its objectives were popularising the study of Sanskrit, helping the poor but deserving students in the prosecution of their studies, and making the Hindus aware of the tenets of Hinduism. It also tried to remove certain vices from society. Why these two societies, one encouraging the Muslim's language and literature and the other that of the Hindus came into being almost simultaneously at one place needs investigation.

Besides these, the *Municipal, Medical, Sanitation, Revenue,* and *Public Works Department Proceedings ; Annual Reports of Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal ;* and *Reports of Charitable Dispensaries under the Government of Bengal* are important sources for the study of trends towards urbanisation in Bihar. A proper study of the rise and growth of towns and cities will help the understanding also, for a town or city is regarded as "the key independent variable for explaining social phenomena". All the documents mentioned above have been conserved in the State Central Records Office, Patna, except the *Public Works Department Proceedings* which are in the Public Works Records Room, Bihar.

One cannot ignore the proceedings of the various caste *sabhas* (organisations) which sprang up during this period. There were a number of such societies in Bihar, but only two of them were very prominent: the Kayastha Conference and the Bhumihar Brahmin Sabha. Both had great influence over their caste men. The former was founded in 1887 with the aim of spreading education among the members of the community making them aware of the evils of old effets and moribund customs like child marriage, purda and dowry systems, the ban on sea voyage ; and to help the poor and destitute, to create a taste for arts and industry. The objectives of the Bhumihar Brahmin Sabha, founded in 1898, were similar : spread of education, curtailment of expenditures on marriages, helping the widows and the orphans. The proceedings of the Kayastha Conference are recorded in the *Kayastha Conference Gazette* and the *Kayastha* Messenger. A few copies of these are in the custody of some of the old Kayastha families of Gaya. The *Bihar Herald* and the *Bihar Times* also referred to their activities.

Though the caste *sabhas* succeeded in ameliorating the condition of their own caste men, yet they brought caste consciousness in their wake—the pernicious results of which are still discernible.

No account of the social life of Bihar can be complete without reference to newspapers and journals. They mirror contemporary activities and provide us with materials for studying the social reforms which were then occurring. Among the oldest newspapers were *Bihar Bandhu* (in Hindi) and *Behar Herald* (in English). The former was founded in 1872, and the latter appeared in 1874. *Behar Herald* was the mouthpiece of Bengali public opinion and had no influence over the masses; the *Bihar Bandhu* advocated the cause of Hindi and was popular among the Hindi-speaking population. Another important newspaper was *Behar Times* (in English), founded 1894 by the joint endeavours of Sachhidananda Sinha and Mahesh Narayan. The paper was renamed the *Beharee* in 1906. Fortunately old files of *Behar Herald* and *Behar Times* are preserved in the National Library, Calcutta. The old issues of *Bihar Bandhu* are under the ownership of Shri Ramji Misra Manohar, a local journalist.

Publication of *Behar Times* gave the educated Biharis a medium for expressing their views on important social, economic, and political problems of the time. The paper started a crusade against the obnoxious customs and manners of the society and called people to fight against them. It highlighted the reforming activities of individuals and institutions and thus created a healthy public opinion in favour of reform. But the paper wanted to bring about reformation and renaissance slowly and gradually and, for that reason, did not write anything against the *prayschita* (penitential) ceremony and the caste system. It is also conspicuous for its silence on such issues as higher education of girls and widow remarriage. In spite of these limitations, or editorial policies, the rôle of the paper in the history of the Bihar reform movement cannot be minimised.

Materials relating to social reform in Bihar are so scattered that no single source can be mentioned as adequate. In the Political Department Miscellaneous Files we get an interesting account of an abortive reform movement launched by Munshi Pearey Lal of Arrah in 1868 for the abolition of the dowry system.

Apart from sources referred to above, materials can be gathered from private papers and missionary records. The former throw light on social relations, the condition of the people, and related topics. The latter, on the other hand, deal with the aims and objectives of the missionaries, their success and failure in particular areas, the conditions prevailing therein, the attitude of the people towards them. All these things must be considered by a conscientious student of social history.

A detailed and analytical study of the sources mentioned will help us to write a comprehensive social history of Bihar during the second half of the 19th century.

SEVERAL BIHAR SOURCES in KHUDA BAKHSH ORIENTAL PUBLIC LIBRARY, PATNA

S. ATHAR SHERE

It is my privilege to express my opinion about some of the rare manuscripts and books connected with Indian history and possessed by the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna. This library, a centre of oriental learning, contains unique and valuable treasures of Islamic art and literature and has attracted scholars of Arabic and Persian learning from all over the world. Even a brief account of all the rare works would be impossible, so I want to dwell upon a few important books and manuscripts containing information on Bihar, 16th to 19th centuries, which is considered to be the Golden Period in Indian history. During this period, art, literature, and fine arts flourished; and we have been given a memorable cultural heritage.

The following books may be specially mentioned :

1. *Mirat-ul-Ahwal-i-Jahan Numa.* By Ahmad bin Muhaddad Ali bin Muhammad Ali bin Muhammad Baqur-ul-Isfahani, commonly called al-Bahbahani. Folios, 382 ; Lines, 16 ; Dated 19th century ; Scribe not mentioned. Copy cited by *Rieu,* I : 385.

The author was born in Kirman Shah. Iran. 1777 A.D., came to India in 1787, and finally settled in Azimabad, Patna, where he wrote the present work in 1909. It is dedicated to Muhammad

Ali Qachar, eldest son of Shah Fatah Ali Qachar. The author tells in the preface that the work consists of several volumes: this being the first. It is divided into five *matlabs* (chapters) and a *khatma* (conclusion). Folios 159-161 recall his tour of Patna (F 159-A), Rajmahal and Bhagalpur (F 160-A) and meeting Nawab Abbas Quli Khan (F 161-A); in addition to other gentries who are elaborately mentioned. This is an almost unknown aspect of Bihar studies.

2. *Tarikh-i-Muzzafferi.* By Md. Ali Khan Ansari. Folios, 494; Lines, 15; Dated 19th century; Scribe not mentioned. No copy seems to be mentioned.

The author's preface states that he wrote this history of Timurid Kings of India from their year of origin to A.D. 1788 as a means of securing an introduction to the court of an eminent noble, Md. Raza Khan, surnamed Muzaffer Jung, who was an important figure in the history of Bengal during the later part of the 18th century. The title was chosen as a compliment to Muzaffer Jung, under whom the author held position in Bihar. This copy ends with the year 1788 events when his work had been completed. According to H. M. Elliot the book was written about A.D. 1800. Both H. G. Keen's *Fall of the Mughal Empire* and H. M. Elliot's *History of India* are based on Tarikh-i-Muzzafferi.

3. *Muzzafar Nama.* By Karam Ali. Folios, 244; Lines, 14; Dated 19th Century; Scribe not mentioned. A mint copy cited by *Rieu;* I: 313; and another in *India Office Library,* No. 489.

This is a detailed history of the Nazims of Bengal from Nawab Ali Wardi Khan Mohabat Jung to 1772 A.D. when Nawab Muzafferjung was deposed by the English. The author, a member of the family of Nazims, was attached to the services of Muzafferjung. The preface states that when his patron fell into the hands of the English in 1772, general discontent prevailed throughout Bengal. He reveals some other important facts also.

4. *Asar-i-Sharaf.* By Qazi Syed Noorul Hussain. Folios, 100; Lines, 19; Printed at Sadar Gali, Patna City in A.H. 1282 = 1866 A.D.

The author of this book was a member of an old respected Syed family of Bihar. He was born pre-Sepoy Mutiny of 1857,

at Sherghati, Gaya, and brought up there under the care of his father, and became an eminent Persian and Arabic scholar. In brief, the book deals with the useful historical events of Bihar, from the mythological age, the Hindu period, up to the well-established British rule. The occurrences at the time of Mir Qasim, Mir Jafar, and Lord Clive have been frequently mentioned, as have other notable personages and historical figures and events. The book provides an interesting study and a fine specimen of an old compilation. Its author died in 1898. The text is simple and chaste Persian.

5. *Riyaz-us-Salatin.* By Ghulam Hussain Salim. English translation by Maulvi Abdus Salam, M.A., Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Printed at Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1902. 437 p.

Ghulam Hussain Salim, a native of Oudh, migrated to Bengal and settled there permanently. His *Riyaz-us-Salatin* was written in Persian, and later rendered into English translation. It contains exhaustive accounts of Bengal from the Hindu mythological age until British supremacy, and frequently deals with the history of Bihar. Its author died in 1817 at Maldah, Bengal.

6. *Sirarul Mutakhkhrin.* By Ghulam Hussain Khan Taba Tabai. Folios, 410 ; Lines, 30 ; Dated A.H. 1230 = 1816 A.D. A note on the flyleaf at the beginning of the Ms. apparently written by a later hand says that this is an autograph copy. [The date of first printing, as date 1230/1816 precludes this. ksd] See *Rieu,* I : 280-81 ; *Bodl. Lib. Cat.,* No. 265 ; *India Office Library* Nos. 416 & 420 ; *J. Aumer,* p. 85 ; *Cat. Codd. Or. Lugd. Bat.* III : 14 ; Morley, *Descriptive Cat.,* and Elliot, *History of India* VIII : 194, 198 : English translation by French convert to Islamism, Haji Mustafa, published in Calcutta, 1789, in three columes ; first portion published in translation by Gen. Briggs for Oriental Translation Fund, London, 1832 ; section relating to Bengal was translated by J. Scott and printed in his *History of the Deccan,* II · 413, 461. The preface, *Muqaddimah* was printed in Calcutta in 1836, and its second and third volumes had appeared earlier in 1832-33. An urdu translation by Bakhshish Ali, entitled *Iqbal Namah,* is mentioned by Garcin de Tassy in his Litterature Hindoui I : 111 ; and another has been pub-

lished under title *Mirat-us-Salatin.*

This well-known history of the Muhammedan power in India, from the death of Aurangzib in 1707 to 1781 A.D., was translated into English from Persian just a few years after its completion. Bihar has been chiefly dealt with as the author was himself a native. The remains of his house can yet be seen in old Patna. Ghulam Hussain was buried at Japla. This rare historical record completed in 1780-81, according to the third part of the book, is of special interest in Bihar studies.

I close my brief talk about these few books which I think can help us have a glimpse of the treasures of Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library which relate to the special study of Bihar.

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BIHAR : 18th and 19th CENTURIES

B. K. SINHA

THE great difficulty which a student of the economic history of Bihar faces is the extremely wide dispersal of the source materials. No single series of documents, no single record office or library. and no single city can produce all that the reader will wish or require.

Moreover there are very few books which deal exclusively with Bihar, so reference to books dealing with India will be required for many kinds of information. Under these circumstances, I have attempted to indicate source materials—many of them secondary, but useful--which provide information regarding 18th and 19th century Bihar economic history. Published books, reports, and gazetteers are listed, and I have tried to include the place and date of publication. These books are available in Patna libraries, but it is very unlikely that such a wide variety of sources would be available in any other city in India.

A. *Printed Books*

1. Ascoli. F. D. *Early Revenue History of Bengal and the Fifth Report, 1812.* (Oxford, 1917)

2. Baden-Powell, B. H. *Land System of British India,* Vol. I. (London, 1812)

3. Bannerjee, D. N. *Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar.* Vol. I. (London, 1936)
4. ———. *Early Administrative Systems of the East India Company in Bengal.* Vol. I, 1765-1774. (London, 1943)
5. Bannerjee, Tarnidas. *The Zamindars and Ryots in Bengal.* (Calcutta, 1883)
6. Ball, V. *The Diamonds, Coal and Gold of India.* (London, 1881)
7. Basu, B. D. *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industry.* (Calcutta, 1935)
8. Basu, T. K. *Bengal Peasant Life from Time to Time.* (Bombay, 1962)
9. Bell, John. *A Comparative View of the External Commerce of Bengal, 1836-38.* (Calcutta, 1934)
10. Blunt, F. S. *Ideas about India.* (London, 1888)
11. Bolts, William. *Consideration on Indian Affairs.* (London, 1792)
12. Brown, J. C. *India's Mineral Wealth.* (1925)
13. Buchanan, F. *An Account of the District of Purnea, 1809-10.* (Patna, 1928)
14. ———. *An Account.....of Bhagalpur, 1810-11.* (Patna, 1939)
15. ———. *An Account... of Behar and Patna, 1811-12.* (?)
16. ———. *An Account.....of Shahabad, 1812-13.* (Patna, 1934)
17. ———. *Patna—Gaya Report on 1812-13.* (Patna, 1925)
18. Buckland, C. R. *Bengal under the Lieutenant Governors.* 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1902)
19. Byrne, J. *Bengal District Gazetteers: Bhagalpur.* (Calcutta, 1911).
20. Carey, W. H. *The Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company.* (Calcutta, 1909)
21. Chatterjee, S. C. *Bengal Ryots: their Rights and Liabilities.* (Calcutta, 1864)
22. Choudhary, Benoy. *Growth of Commercial Argi-*

culture in Bengal, 1757-1900. (Calcutta, 1964)

23. Choudhary, M. *The Iron and Steel Industry of India.* (Calcutta, 1964)
24. Choudhary, R. *Evolution of Indian Industries.* (Calcutta, 1939)
25. Choudhary, R. K. *History of Bihar.* (Patna, 1958)
26. Chunder, Bholanath. *Travels of a Hindu in the Parts of Bengal and Upper India.* 2 vols. (London, 1859)
27. Coupland, H. *Final Report on the Survey Settlement Operations in the Deo Estate in the District of Gay, 1909-1904.* (Calcutta, 1906)
28. Das, A. C. *India's Ryots, Land Tax, Permanent Settlement and the Finance.* (Howrah, 1881)
29. Datta, K. K. *Bengal Subah, 1740-1770.* (University of Calcutta, 1936)
30. ———. *Survey of India's Social Life and Economic Conditions in the Eighteenth Century (1707-1813).* (Calcutta, 1961)
31. Datta, D. N. *A Brief History of the Hathwa Raj.* (Calcutta, 1909)
32. Deane, Anne. *A Tour through the Upper Provinces of Hindustan, 1804-14.* (London, 1823)
33. Dey, Lal Behari. *The Bengal Peasant Life.* (London, 1896)
34. Diwakar, R. R., ed. *Bihar through the Ages.* (Calcutta, 1959)
35. Dutt, R. C. *The Economic History of India.* 2 vols. (London, 1901-1903)
36. Firminger, W. K., ed. *Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons.* (Calcutta, 1917)
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* Indicates that further imprint information was not available to the Compiler; ** indicates the sources are to be found in the State Archives, Bihar, Patna.

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

AHMAD, Qeyamuddin. Ph. D. Formerly Research Fellow, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1952-1964; and now Professor of History, Patna University. Publications: *Wahabi Movement in India* (Calcutta, K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1966) and *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions from Bihar* (in press for K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute). Articles, such as "Attempts at Indo-Turkish Collaboration against the British" in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Session XVII* (1954); and "Maulavi Ali Kureem, a Scholar-Soldier of Bihar during the Movement of 1857-59" in *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission,* XXXIII, 1958.

CHAUDHARY, V. C. P. Ph. D. Formerly Lecturer in History, Ranchi College. Now Research Fellow, K. P. Jawaswal Research Institute, Patna. Hindi publications: *Adhunik Bihar ka Srijan* (Rai Bahadur Surajdeo Narain Scholarship awarded for this best book in Hindi); *Dehati ki Bidesh Yatra* (personal travels in Europe); and English manuscripts for publication: *Imperial Honeymoon with Indian Aristo-*

cracy (K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute); and *Rudyard Kipling in India.* Research in progress: Sources of the History of Modern Bihar, and Landed Aristocracy of Bihar.

DIEHL, Katharine Smith. M.A. (Advanced) University of Michigan; Research Fellow, University of Chicago. Fellow of the American Institute of Indian Studies. *Early Indian Imprints* (based on Carey Library at Serampore College) (New York, 1964); *Serampore Pamphlets (Secular series)* (Serampore, 1969); *Tale of the Four Durwesh,* ed. from Smith's translation (Calcutta, 1970). Subject interest is "Printing in India, to 1850"; the contents of old libraries, and their preservation for scholars in India.

GOPAL, Surendra. Ph. D. (Moscow). Formerly Visiting Reader. Department of Central Asia, Indian School of International Studies (New Delhi); 1958-1968, was Lecturer, and from 1969 Reader, Department of History, Patna University. Primary interest is Russo-Indian trade and traders, leading to such publications as "Indian Traders in Russia in the XVIIth Century", in Proceedings, *Indian History Congress, Mysore,* 1966, pp. 460-68; "Indian Traders in Russia in the XVIIIth Century", in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review.* V (June 1968) 141-148; and "Armenian Traders in India in the XVIIth Century", in *Proceedings of International Seminar on Central Asia held at New Delhi, Feb. 1969.* (New Delhi, 1970).

JHA, Aditya Prasad. Ph. D., and Diploma in Archives-Keeping. Served as Research Officer in the Indian Institute of Public Administration (New Delhi) 1963-1966; and until his death (a few days prior to this Seminar) Archivist, State Central Archives, Political (General) Department, Govt. of Bihar. Publications and research: *History of Criminal Administration in Bihar, 1765-1861* (Ph.D. thesis); *Unrest against British Rule in Bihar* (in Hindi); *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, 1917-18; Selections from The Judicial Records of the Bhagalpur*

District Office (1792-1805). Work which was in progress: part of the *Comprehensive History of Bihar*, being published by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute; and assisting Dr. B. B. Mishra in writing *The History of Developmental Administration in India.*

MITRA, Tarun. M.A. in Comparative Literature. Formerly Secretary of Gandhi Vicher Parishad; Social worker in work camps, villages, and slums which were connected with pacifist and social work organisations; Lecturer, Charu Chandra College (Calcutta). With the American Institute of Indian Studies, Calcutta Center, since 1965, and currently Administrative Officer. Editor of *Satabhisa*, a poetry quarterly, and a series of contemporary poetry volumes. Interested in and has lectured on Art History.

NARAIN, Vishnu Anugrah. Ph D. (London). Reader in the Department of History, Patna University. Visiting Professor in U.S. Universities, 1967-1968. Publication: *Jonathan Duncan and Varanasi* (Calcutta, K. L. Mukhopadhyay). Articles such as "Anglo-Nepalese Commercial Treaty of 1792" in the *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, (1957); "Restrictions on the Settlement of the Europeans in India upto 1800" in the *Journal of Indian History*, (1963); "Public Associations and Social Reform in Bengal in the first half of the 19th Century" in *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, XXVIII, 1966 and many other papers in academic journals.

PRASAD, Satyanarain. Ph D. Previously Research Scholar, Magadh University (Bodh-Gaya); and Lecturer in History, Sri Guru Gobind Singh College (Patna); currently University Grants Commission Research Fellow, Patna University. Thesis, *Education in Bihar, 1854-1904*; publications "Education in Bihar, 1854-1859" in *Journal of Historical Research* (Ranchi, 1868); "Munshi Peary Lal and Social Reform Movement in Bihar" in ibid (1969); "Mohammedan Education in Bihar, 1854-1882", to appear in *Journal of Indian*

History, as well as numerous other studies related to social awakening in Bihar during the late 19th century.

SHERE, S. Athar. M.A. (Triple) and Gold Medalist ; Dipl. Litt. (Tehran). Assistant Director Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, (Bankipore) Patna. Publications are usually related to the Khuda Bakhsh Library : *Brochure* (Library information) ; *Miftah al-Konooz. Vol. III.* (a Handlist of Arabic Mss) ; *Mirat al Oloom. Vol. III.* (a Handlist of Persian Mss.) ; *Catalogue of Arabic Mss. Vol. XXX* (on Tradition) ; *Lalazan* (Travel account).

SINHA, Birendra Kumar. Ph.D. Member of both Indian History Congress and Bihar Research Society. Reader in Economic History of India, Patna University. Articles have appeared in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1963 and 1966 ; and in *Summary of Papers, Indian History Congress*, 1965, 1967, 1968, and 1969 ; "Attitudes of the Christian Missionaries towards Land Problems of Bengal during the first half of the Nineteenth Century" in *Journal of Historical Research*, 15 August, 1968 ; "Dresses and Costume of Bihar", in *Bihar Information*. 26 March, 1965 ; and in press, *The Pindaris* (Bookland. Calcutta).

SINHA, Tara Sharan. M.A. in both History and Political Science ; and Archives Administration (New Delhi & London). Currently Archivist, State Central Archives, Political (General) Department, Govt. of Bihar. Publications and research : Patna Commissioner's Records Series. Vol. I, being *Descriptive List of Monthly Bundles from Commissioner, Patna Division to the Secretary, Govt. of Bengal, 1853-1875 ; Catalogue of Patna Commissioner's Records, 1813-1853 ;* and with Dr. A. P. Jha, *Selections from the Judicial Records of Bhagalpur District Office (1792-1805) ; Who's Who of Freedom Fighters in Bihar.* Also assisted Dr. K. K. Datta in *Reflections on the Mutiny ; Dutch in Bengal and Bihar ; Shah Alam II & The East India Company ; Biography of Dr Rajendra Prasad ;* and *Gandhiji in Bihar.*